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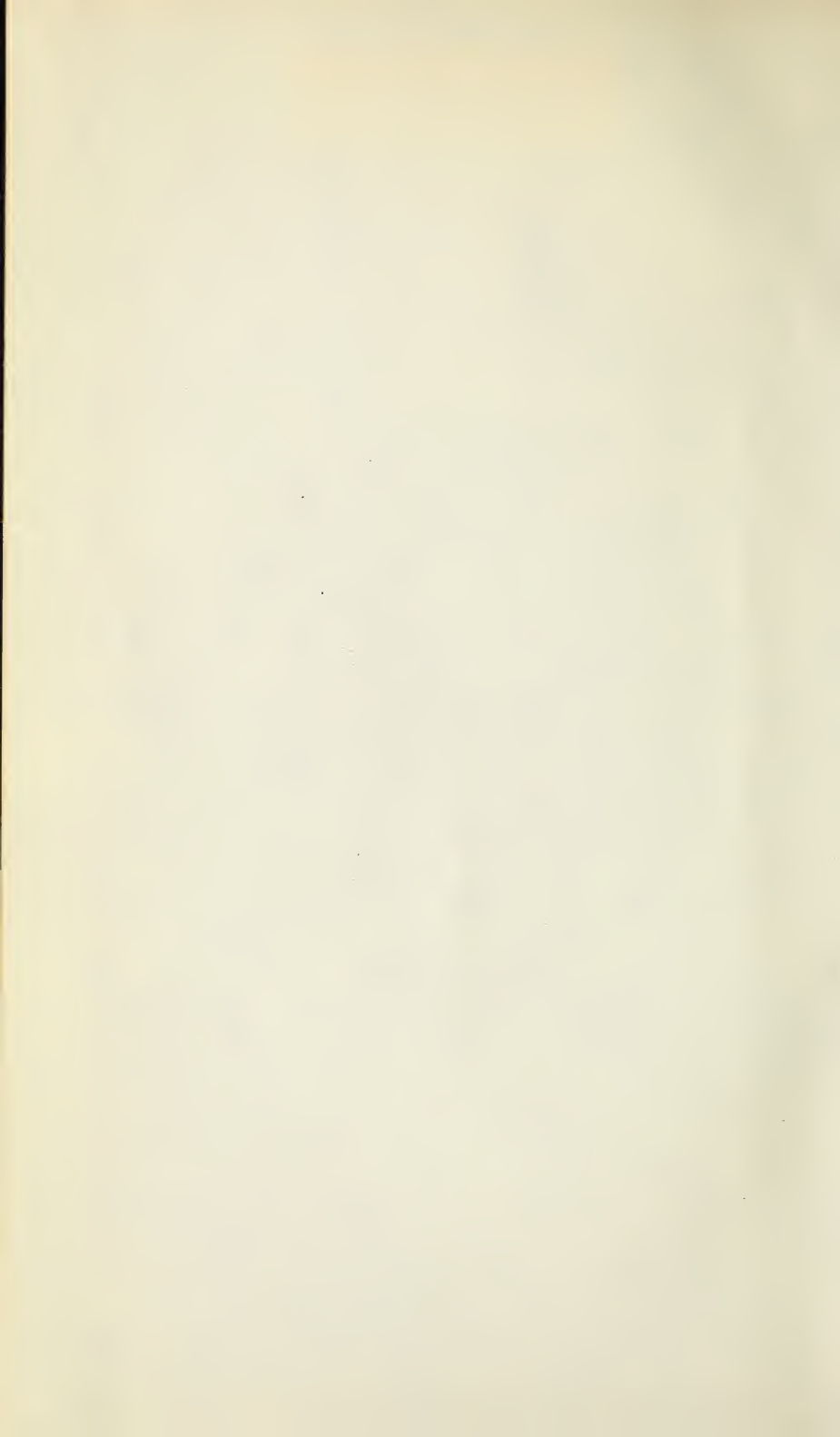
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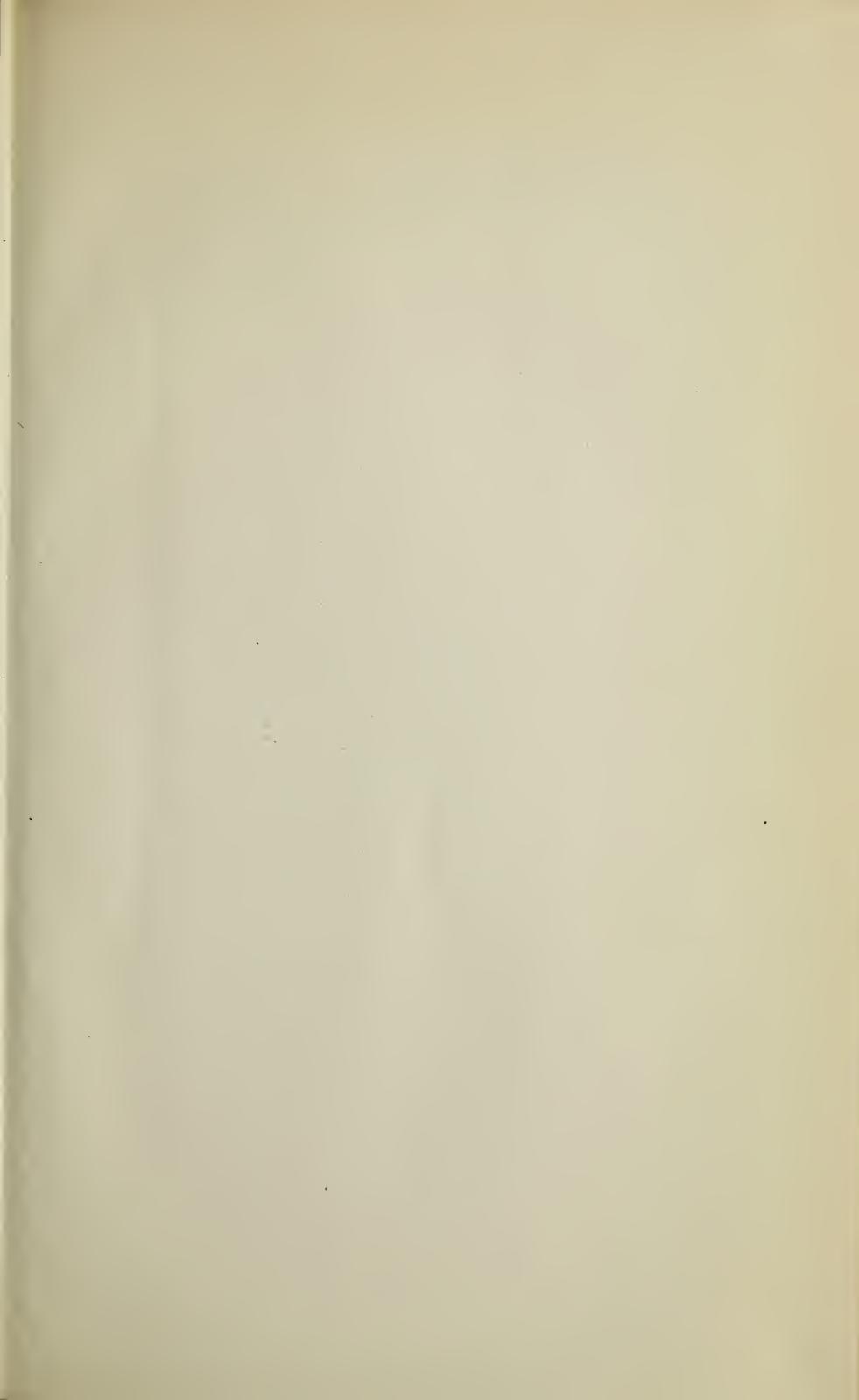
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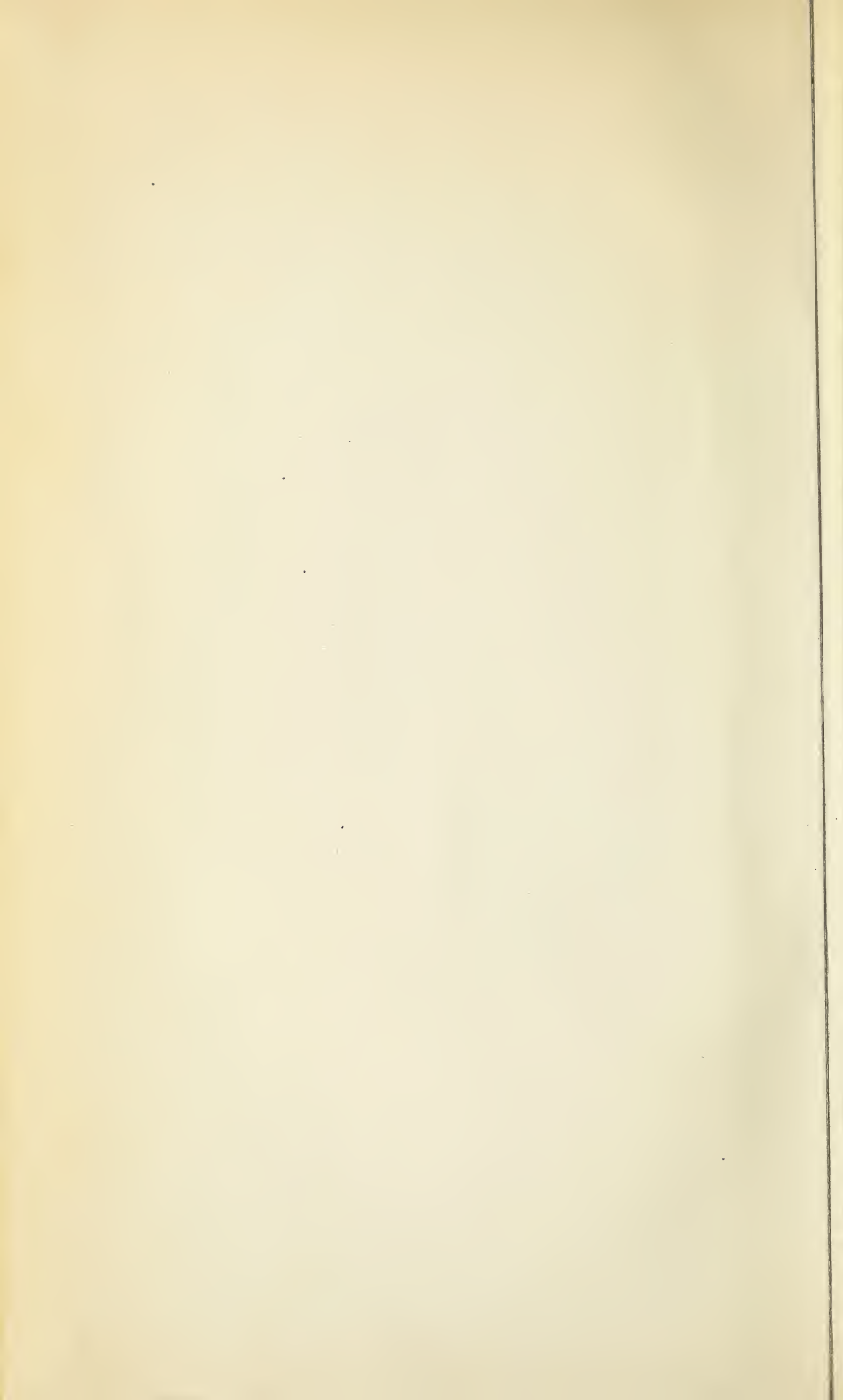
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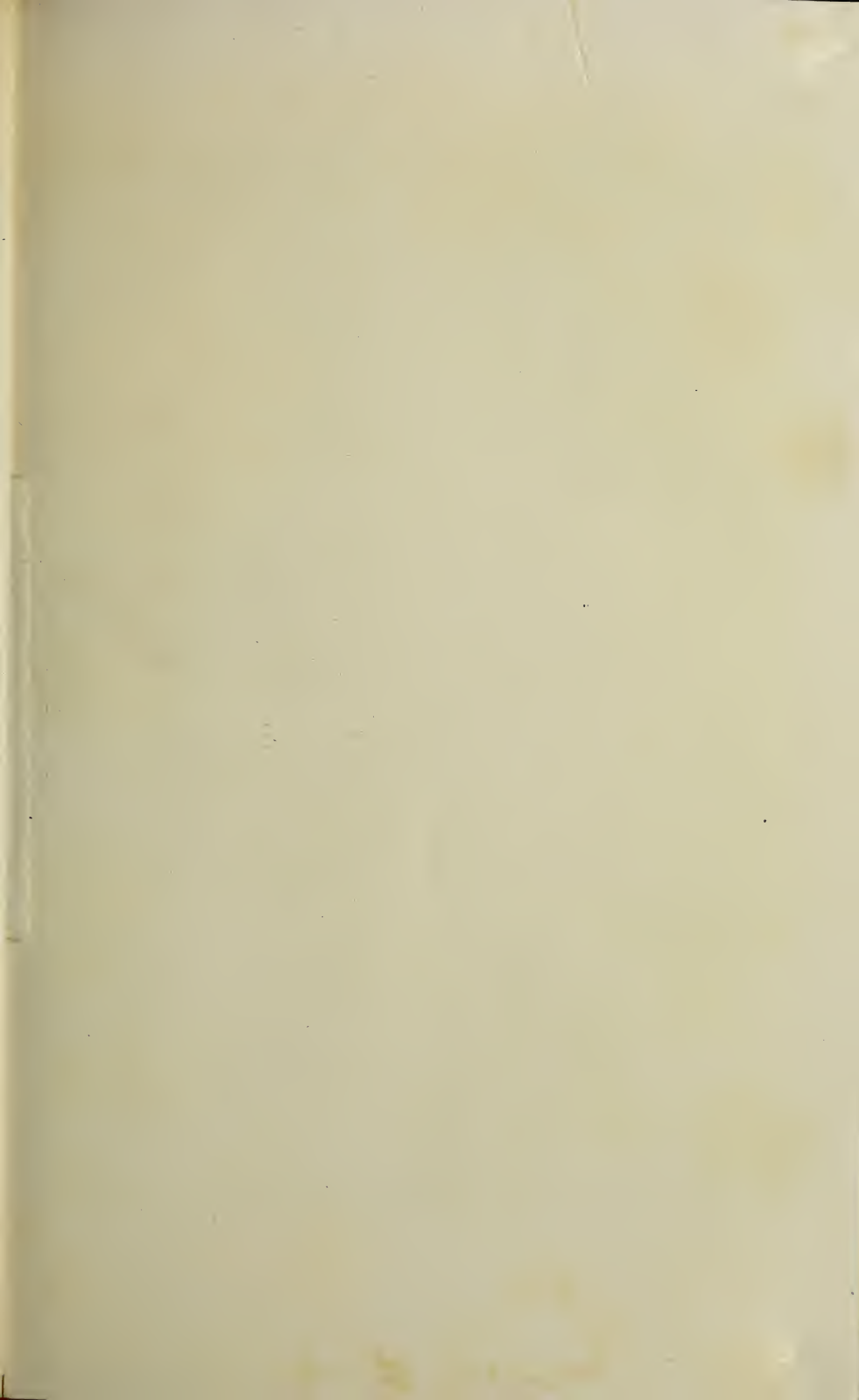
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1911-1915









Lords 19-9-1877

My dear friend

Wm. B. W.

Dr. Peter, & friends,

Keep in y^e seed & power of gods
may be for all & work out all y^e
with you will all be preserved in peace
& quietness & for y^e my love say
you all in Holland & Ireland, &
where

Y^r

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The Editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Haverford, Pa.

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Subscriptions, \$1 per annum. All members receive the BULLETIN free.

SIX LETTERS OF WILLIAM PENN TO FRIENDS IN HOLLAND.

The six letters of William Penn here given, so far as known, have never been printed. They were presented to the Library of Haverford College, in 1836, by Joseph and Beulah Sansom. The second letter is specially interesting as having a postscript dictated by George Fox and signed by him, in his usual manner, with his initials only.* In the third letter there is a reference to this postscript. This postscript with the close of Penn's letter is reproduced as the frontispiece to this number of the BULLETIN.

Too scant attention has been paid to the history of the Friends in Holland. Except for Sewel's History, Besse's "Sufferings," William Penn's "Travels in Holland and Germany," 1677, and the narrative in the Journal of George Fox, and other references, little has been written upon this part of Quaker history. Professor William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, who has spent considerable time in Holland in the interests of the cause of peace, has made careful investigations regarding Friends in Holland, and it is hoped will soon publish the results of his labors. The editor is indebted to Professor Hull for help in deciphering portions of these letters, and in furnishing a key to some of the initials.

My Dearly beloved friends J[saac] & G[ertrude] Jacobs, Peter and Eli[zabeth] Hen: [Hendricks].

The salutation off my life, which is hid with x^t in god over all this fadeing & chaingeable world, fprings forth at this time unto you, who are made nigh & dear onto my fpirit in the pure everlasting Powr of god, & by that Covenant off light, life & eternall falvation we have been gathered Into, In which is ye bleffed fellowship wittneffed & communion with y^e god off life, where by we come to be perfected I[n] every good & holy work to anfwear the end of our great & high Calling, which is onto righteousness, patience, & doing the will of god, which brings Into that domin-

*Only one full signature is known, that now in the Library at Devonshire House, London. See Journal of the Friends Historical Society, vol. 1, pp. 6-10.

ion which god allmighty is now giveing to his faints, whos Kingdome is an everlasting Kingdome & off whose pure & righteouf Government there fhall never be end. therefore is he rifen to plead the caufe off his feed yt is as In captivity in the nations of the world, & he is putting a cupp of confufion, war (?) & trembling, yt they may dash each other In peeces af a Potter's veffell, & real & fall & never rife again that the homage, the honner, & the holy praife may be rendred to ye glorious rifeing off the feed yt is to raigne, & rule all nations with a rod of Iron & great are the Calamitys, yt are haftening opou the world, & god the lord off heaven & earth is comeing speedely & will not tarry, to Judge righteoufly amongft ye Kingdoms of men: o yt day is at hand that many fhall feek death & fhall not find, a day of great blacknefs, horror, & diftrefs, bleffed are they that Stand faft without waveir- ing In yt winter day. o ffrinds blefs the lord forever who has redeemed us out of the lufts In which is the warring & ye bloodfhed- ing is o yt one life which makes us of one flefh & one bone, of one blood & one body, yea of one foul & one fpirit, where the quarrells & Commotions Cannot reach onto us, to break our union. o did the nations know to live in yt bleffed harmlefs life, how would it end all Contefts & difference; well we are the firft fruits lett us retire into our chambers, the inward of our Spirits & there we fhall feel yt which fupports, comforts & gives & prevails (?), for ye end of thefe things yt threaten the world yt It may be brought Into a Condition of heareing & receiveing ye Truth In the love off it; for this heavenly truth In which we have beleived, & not another thing will the holy & Righteous god of heaven & earth raife proffer & eftabliſh In the utter overturning off all yt is to high for it, or makes warr againft it. And Dear friends, my heart Is melted In dear & heavenly love towards you, by which you are deeply engraven In my remembrance, & often In our holy affem- blys I feel the Interceeding Spirit of ye lord for your fupport & affiftance under all your great & (too many) unknown exercifes, & lett the liveing feed arife: o lett the powr have its way & be bold & vallient for god, & ftop not one teftemoney, furely teftimonys muſt arife for the good old way off everlaſting life, faine would I be with you, but cannot, & when to fee you I know not, but it is much defired by me, for my heart cleaves toward you. I have

been fomtimes a little troubl'd not to hear from you, fo much as of the receipt of severall letters I have written to you, specially one containing 2 of G. ffoxes letters from Barbadoes, I long to understand how it is with you. things here as to friends are very well, only Rebecca ofgood at london & G. Welch at Jamaica have lately departed this life, & are I hope at rest with our god forever ; Isaac Pennington is now [1673?] at liberty* by permiffion, & with us In ye country; his dear love is to you, his wifes & my Dear friends; who with myfelfe & in my falutation of Dear and heav- enly love unfeinedly greet you all In which I am
 let a copy of this be sent to your endeared friend
 Frederickstate [i. e. Friedrichstad] & Brother
 with my Dr. love to them, Wm Penn
 for my concerne is great for
 them & falute me dearly
 to all friends of yr Generall
 meeting; if my letters already
 writt be not loft keep them till
 I come or fend me coppys P[er]
 post; forgett me not to Jo. Lodge,
 & honeft John Clawf [Claus].

NOTE.—Peter and Elizabeth Hendricks were prominent Friends of Amsterdam, and he was a native of that city. How he became a Friend is not known, but it is on record that he and his father were both imprisoned at Leyden (1661), being apprehended as they were passing through, and a few days later were banished. In 1666 he was thrust out of the Court of Burgomasters for appearing with his hat on. Later, he was treated courteously. In 1669, he and Jacob Aarent went into the New-Kercke at Amsterdam, and standing with their hats on, were violently thrust out, and were abused by the crowd. For this he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment on bread and water, but was released after four days. According to Penn's subscription to Letter 2, he was a buttonmaker. Joseph Smith credits him with ten Tracts, only two of which have been translated into English. The dates of publication are from 1664 to 1676. His wife Elizabeth must have been an able woman. Smith, who calls her "Hendericks," credits her with six Tracts, (1671-1673) all "Epistles to Friends," only one of which appears in English.

*Isaac Penington suffered his last imprisonment 1672-1673; this would seem to fix the date of this letter some time in 1673.—ED.

She was a preacher, as appears by Fox's Journal, who makes her the text of his address to the Duke of Holstein, concerning the preaching of women. (Bi-Cent. edition, vol. 2, p. 404.) Isaac and Gertrude Jacobs, Friends of Amsterdam. Smith credits him joint author of one Dutch tract. John Lodge was one who followed John Perrot in the matter of not taking off the hat during prayer. His letter of repentance and recantation is given in William Alexander's "Collectitia," York, 1824, p. 151. The letter is dated, Amsterdam 11th of the month called March, 1669, N. Stile. [New Style]. "Honest John Claus" was also of Amsterdam. Little is known about him. He was taken in a Meeting in London and with others tried at the Old Bailey 14th of 10 Month [December] 1664, and sentenced to seven years transportation to Jamaica. His plea that he was a foreigner was overruled. The history of the efforts of the authorities to send John Claus and his companions to Jamaica is one of the most tragic and strange passages in Besse's "Sufferings," see vol. 1, pp. 403, 406, 407.

Fox tells us John Claus and Benjamin Furly interpreted for the Friends visiting Holland in 1677. Smith credits him with two letters and "a book in Dutch." His wife, we learn from Fox, was from Embden. (Bi-Cent. ed., vol. 2, p. 275.) A most interesting letter of John Claus, "on behalf of the Quarterly Meeting held at Amsterdam, To the Yearly Meeting in London," dated, "Amsterdam, the $\frac{6}{16}$ of the $\frac{3}{5}$ "Month, 1686," is given in "Collectitia," pp. 253-258.

Dear Friend P. H. [Peter Hendricks].

Blessed are they, yt are kept by ye Lord, it fhall goe well with them, & this all have dayly need of, whom ye lord has vifitted in this day; o they can say now as ever In days past, yt such are preserved in perfect peace, & live in a quiet habitation. the lord Stay ye minds of his people every where upon him, & keep them in the hour of tryall. I perceive by thy two letters, how things have been; & my foul has been made sad by reason of that Jumble yt was among you. I have written to B. F. [Benjamin Furly] about it, his letter will fatisfy thee how plainly I dealt wth him, & tould him yt a fhort, brittle sp^t [spirit] will never do gods work, adviseing him yt he would come into yt weighty life, w^{ch} can bear & fuffer, & is not so easy to be provouked I read his letters, & myn to him to Dr. [dear] G. F. [George Fox]. In fhort, I overlook all thos aggravateing expreffions, & bury them by ye powr of god, & you muft do the like, & be patient, & longfuffering, &

committ y^r cause to ye lord. as to ye Paper of R. B. [Robert Barclay?] I know not where it is; next, twas only memorandums, & fignefyed not much. it was too abrupt. furthermore, as to ye thing it felfe, this G. F. [George Fox] & I agreed I should write. first yt if any out of tendernefs of Conscience (after haveing perform'd ye order among friends (yet before marriage solemnized) desired to Inform the Magistrate of their Intentions in order to manifest their cleerness they were left to their liberty, without being Judg'd or cenfur'd by friends yet that they might not Censure friends yt keep their first practice.

2^{ly} that after ye marriage is solemniz'd if any desire to carry or fend the magistrate a copy of the certificate they have their freedom so to do. these two things I remember, & if ye paper were short muft such vehement reflection & Indignation be conceiv'd or shown, for fuch omiffion; o this is not weighty enough for truth: but I hope ye lord will preserve you all in his wifdome & love, yt you may keep the seemlefs garment without rent & feel yourselves covered with the fame. my dear. . . . [illegible] falutation in ye life of Jesus X^t our lord is to thee & the Brethren & all friends. o my dear friends keep low & tender in ye holy feed yt has visitted you, that your joy may be encreafed, & your peace sweetly & deeply flow as a pure river. o my foul remembers, with pure prayfes, the time of the lord yt was with us in y^r lands & Countrys w^t ever comes of ye work gods day is founded, & ye lords controverfy is declared, & all fhall work together for good to y^m yt keep their eye to the lord. lett me hear from thee sometimes, expect suddainly, ye lord permitting an accompt of ye Debate between us & Gal Abr. [Galenus Abrahamsz] fo dear Peter, in dear Brotherly kindnefs, yt is eafy to be entreated I reft

Lond: 19th 9^{mo} 1677

thy faithfull

Friend & Bro^r

Wm. Penn

D^r Peter, & Friends

Keep in y^e feed & powr of god, yt was before all, & will out laft

all, in w^{ch} you will all be preserved in peace & quietness & fo wth
my love to y^m you all, in Holland & Friesland, & elfwhere.

G ff

This
For Peter Hendricks
Button-Maker on ye
Cesars graft in
Amsterdam

NOTE.—Dr. Galenus Abrahamsz, a Dutch Mennonite or Baptist, with whom George Keith and William Penn had dispute. George Fox refers to him in his Journal in 1684. He says, "I had been with him when I was in Holland about seven years before [1677]; and William Penn and George Keith had disputes with him. He was then very high and shy, so that he would not let me touch him, nor look upon him (by his good will), but bid me 'keep my eyes off him for,' he said, 'they pierced him.' But now he was very loving and tender, and confessed in some measure to truth; his wife also and daughter were tender and kind, and we parted from them very lovingly." Fox's Journal, Bi-Cent. ed. 2, pp. 310, 401; Penn's Travels, (Barclay's ed.) pp. 141, 144; Sewel's History (fol. ed., 1722, p. 564.)

Dr: P.&E.H. C.R. J.C. J.A. J.R. J.L. B.V.Ton,

& ye wemen (?)&c.

[Peter and Elizabeth Hendricks, Cornelis Roeloffs, John Claus, Jans Abrahams, or Jacob Adriens, or Jacob Arentez, Jan Roeloffs, John Lodge, Barent van Tongeren.]

my dear friends & Brethren

This serves only for a salutation to you, w^{ch} is in the feed, yt must raighn, yt muft have the goverment, for it only can rule for god. o lett him Cover you lead & order you all, then fhall your faith, hope, love & patience Continue unto the end; the lord god allmighty overshaddow you all with his powr, & keep you under the fense of his weighty life, that his favory vertue & wisdom may rest upon you. o then fhall it be well with you in all y^e undertakings. I hope you have had my last, w^{ch} I writt ye next post after I writt to B. Furly, w^{ch} I read to George [George Fox] &

something he made me write from him, & w^{ch} be subscribed himselfe to you: but it was to ye same purpose w^t yt to B. F. the Bearers suddain goeing putts me into great haift, but read my love in ye eternal truth, w^{ch} time cannot ware out, distance forget, nor many waters quench. So ye lord god of life and glory protect & preserve you in his weighty seed to ye perfecting of your Redemption, yt you may sing on Mount Zion with the ranfomed of the lord, ye new and everlasting song. Amen. salute me to yr famelys & all friends & friendly people. I am

things are ge-

nerall well, & our

meetings are large

& liveing as ever

bleffed be ye name

of the lord, ye truth grows

loud: 10th: 10^{mo} 77:

For P.E.H. J.C. J.L.

C.J.R. J.A. B.V.T.*

&c

In Amsterdam

Your faithfull

Brother

Wm Penn

Dr^{ly} Belov^d Friends:

Worminghurst: 2: 6^m 78

My very dear & faithfull love salutes you ye dear Remnant of god in Holland & thos parts adjacent: my soule loves you wth endeared love, & often reaches to you. yea my Spirit is melted wthin me becaufe of ye love of god y^t Springs in my heart to you. Surely ye love of the father abounds to you. & his life & prefense is very neer you. often does my Soule embrace you, & salute you wth an holy Kifs. for you are dearly beloved of me. ye god of all heavenly kindnes overhaddow you & keep you above ye enemy of y^r souls in all his appearances to ye seed, ye weighty life, yt w^{ch} will abide ye Judgemt of ye Lord, & can love it & live in it & for ye lords sake keep ye dear & precious seemlefs gown of our lord Jesus

*These initials do not agree fully with those at the beginning of the letter. They apparently stand for: Peter and Elizabeth Hendricks, "J. C., John Claus, John Lodge, Cornelis and Jan Roeloffs, Jans Abrahams (?), Barent van Tongeren.

entire, & rather suffer y^r selves to be defrauded, than contend. lett none be righteous overmuch, lett ye life be felt [?] w^{ch} is the Son, in w^{ch} is ye offering yt is acceptable: & above all watch to ye heavenly visitation, yt y^e holy sense begotten in you may grow. y^t you may feel an encrease of all spirituall graces in Christ Jesus our Lord. And friends, wait deep [?] to ye riseing of ye powr of god, y^t instruments you may be in the hands of ye lord to proclaim the acceptable year & time of deliverance, w^{ch} ye lords powr will bring to pass. My Brethren be dilligent. Keep in ye univerfall, love one another, & watch over one another for good, & the god of peace bruise Satan under your feet, & bring you more & more Into ye glorious liberty of ye sons of god. the Lord Jesus be with all your Spirits Amen

Your in ye fellow-
ship of ye gofpell of
Peace

Wm. Penn.

For the Friends of
god in Holland &
Germany, wth grace
& peace from god ye
father & our lord Jesus
Christ:

Lond. 27: 9^{mo}. 79

Peter Hendricks & }
John claus } My dear Frds.

In ye everlafting truth of our god yt has begotten us again to a life & hope yt are Incorruptible, do I dearly salute you, yr dr: wives & all my endeared Frds. & Brethren in y^t city & country to whom o yt ye god of all my comforts & Bleffings would muleply grace mercy & Peace yt an heavenly famely & holy Society to him you there & we here may be & continue till our last great chainge fhall come, when, all mortality wth us fhall be fwallowed up of life. It is long since I heard from you, & longer I beleive fince you heard from me. but furely our love remains in y^t w^{ch} noe distance or time can extinguish or ware out; & I know not

y^t I have ever been drawne forth of god In prayer In public that you have not been brought livelyngly to my remembrance & indeed you are as an epistle writt upon my soul & tendernefs often overtakes me in secret y^t truth may Spring among you, o ye precious meetings y^t We have had together, lett my soul never forgett ye goodnefs of ye lord. things here are well as to truth, blessed be god, but many Frds drop off by Sicknefs. 'tis a fickly time with us. as to ye Publiq. ye discovery of ye Plott & Plotters goes on notwithstanding all arts to Smother it. ye mock-Plott cast on ye Presbiterians turns to good & oats [Oates] has lately detected 3 Persons, suborned to sware buggery agst him. & it falls on ye late Tresurer [Sir Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby] & ye Popish lords, so y^t now all seem to believe ye Plott but thos y^t knew it before we did. for they cannot say any more do you think we would do this or that as oats [Oates] &c: says; for now wors was proved, than ever was conceived. and truly ye lord works wonderfully for ye preservation of this nation; & therefore I hope he will save it from ye devices of ye wicked. Just now a great man tells me ye D. of Mon: [Duke of Monmouth] is arrived, ye king bids him be gon. he refuses, & claims an english right to stay & refers himselfe to ye Law, but stirrs not. ye bells Ring, ye Fires Burn, & ye people are extreemly Agitated, but ye lord is our choice & his peaceable Kingdom, & in him is our trust & Joy forever. who by all thes things will exalt his truth & Break in upon ye Spirits of People & begin his work in them. no more, but y^t I should rejoyce to hear from you of y^r wellfair & truths Prosperity who am

Salute me to vantongre

Your faithfull

I. Rolofs & wife, ye Schole

Frds. & Bro.

mafter, J. claus, & J. L. [John Lodge] &c:

Wm Penn

you would do well to write somtimes to ye

2^d days meeting how things are

For Peter Hendricks

Mer^t In

Amsterdam

NOTE.—This letter refers to the so-called Popish Plot, which the notorious Titus Oates claimed to reveal. The country was greatly excited and ready to believe anything against the Roman Catholics. The trials of

the suspected were travesties of justice, and almost any charge Oates made was credited. Even Penn seems to have been deceived. It was some time before the reaction came. The Duke of Monmouth was an illegitimate son of Charles II., a strong Protestant from policy, and very popular, though really a worthless character. Charles had exiled him to the continent, and he had returned to England without leave; it is to this which Penn refers. For the history of this period, see the graphic account in G. M. Trevelyan's "England Under the Stuarts," Chapter 12. London, 1904.

Dear John Claufe & Peter Hendricks

windsor castle
11th 6^{mo} 87

Beloved Frds & Brethren In ye everlasting truth, by w^{ch} we, yt were ftraingers to god, & one unto another, are made neigh in ye heavenly relation; my soule falutes you, even in yt vertuous powr in w^{ch} we have been moft dearly comforted & built up together, and the lord be with you, & lett his due reft upon y^t branch & every plant yt his right hand hath planted in yt land. my god & y^r god be in ye midst of you, to ye fhewing forth of his name to ye ends of ye land. o Frds. up & be doeing, be zealous, be loveing, be circumspect & be tender, yt ye may ferve ye Ld. in yr day. falute me to y^r wives & famelys & to Frds, as iff [I] named y^m as Bar. van tongre [Barent van Tongeren], J. Roloffs, wm. fewell Ja. claufe [Jacob Claus], ye honeft Wm March? their famelys. You [illegible] how things have gone here as to Frds. & truth, indeed, things are well. I was lately at Bristoll. vaft meetings there & by ye way 3, 4 & five thoufand at a meeting, ye Magistrats yeilding their ftat (?) houfe in many places. w^t have Frds to do but to keep love, & walk with ye Lord in ye leadings & life of his blessed & unchaingable truth I have been long in yr debt in x^t, but you will forgive me falute me to ye churches in thos Regions. grace, mercy & peace from god our father & his fon & our lord Jefus xt. be fhed & multiplied upon & among you. God is fetting up his ftandard, & his difpifed truth will break out upon thos countrys as a morning with clouds. fo Dear Frds, in ye life dwell, goe forth only in yt, & you will goe fafely; in this

hold ye fellowship & meetings, & the lord god allmighty be with
 you forever. I am
 lett this be read if
 you fee fitt in ye affem-
 blys of gods people: farewell in
 ye lord.

Your Frd. & Bro^t.

In [illegible] Wm Penn

NOTE.—The Friends named in this letter are John Claus, Peter Hendricks, Barent van Tongeren, William Sewel, the historian, Jacob Claus, who, as we learn from a Dutch tract of 1680, was a bookseller in Amsterdam, and William March (?). The signature has been cut out. This letter appears to have been written when Penn accompanied the Deputies of London Yearly Meeting to present an address to King James relative to the Declaration of Indulgence. (Sewel's History, fol. ed., 1722, pp. 605-608.) Sewel says James was then in residence at Windsor.

NORTHERN FRIENDS AND THE CONSCRIPTION ACTS DURING THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865.

The following extracts from the Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings of Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, (Eutaw Street) 1862-1865, throw much light on the position taken by conscientious Friends during that trying period of our nation's history. With a single exception* every actor named has passed away. The BULLETIN is indebted to the Clerk of the Permanent Board and the Custodian of the Records for these transcripts.—EDITOR.

At a Meeting for Sufferings held in Baltimore 3d. month 17th. 1862 A Memorial of London Yearly Meeting for Sufferings to the British Government was received by the Correspondents of this Yearly Meeting in the 12th month last. Prompt action being desirable, as many of the members of this Meeting as could be assembled on short notice met and in accordance with a request from London Friends, a committee was appointed to present the Memorial to the President of the United States Abraham Lincoln, who received them with much interest and cordiality, and

* Charles F. Coffin, of Chicago, then of Richmond, Indiana, who has allowed his name to be used in this paper.

afterward sent the following acknowledgment which was transmitted to England. This Meeting approves the action of their members thus informally taken, and directs their proceedings to be recorded on our minutes. The President's reply is as follows.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 7th, 1862.

Gentlemen:

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the receipt through you of the Memorial of the English Friends, in relation to the matter between the Government of Great Britain and that of the United States of America. Although I trust that any fears entertained of any serious derangement of our amicable relations have been without foundation, I cannot but gratefully appreciate your prompt, and generous suggestions in the interests of peace and humanity.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

F. T. King and others.

At a Meeting for Sufferings held in Baltimore the 18th. of 10th month, 1862 This Meeting was brought under exercise, and feeling on behalf of the members of this Meeting residing in Virginia who are subjected to trials, and sufferings on account of the war, but owing to all intercourse with them being cut off, no way opens at present to labor with the authorities on their behalf. Since last Meeting there has been a requisition on the State of Maryland for its proportion of three hundred thousand men for the United States Army: several members of this Meeting examined our State laws, and had interviews with the Governor, and the Commissioners of Enrollment from which they felt assured that Friends would be undisturbed in their conscientious scruples against War, and that a special call of this Meeting on the subject would be unnecessary. The draft has recently taken place, and Friends have been exempted. In recording this privilege which has been extended to us by our Rulers, we desire that our members may so adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things

that the sincerity of our profession, and the Scriptural soundness of the doctrine may appear to those around us.

CONSCRIPTION BILL.

At a called Meeting for Sufferings held 2d. month 1863: The following Memorial was adopted relative to the Conscription Bill on the eve of passing Congress. We appoint Francis T. King, James C. Thomas, and Richard M. Janney to present the Memorial to Congress.

To the Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Religious Society of Friends within the limits of Baltimore Yearly Meeting embracing Maryland, Virginia, and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania would respectfully memorialize Congress in relation to the Conscription Bill now pending. Loyal to our Country and sincerely desirous to be able conscientiously to obey its laws, we would respectfully represent that the religious principles which we have consistantly maintained since the rise of our Society more than two centuries ago, on the subject of war, forbid our assumption of arms for any cause even that of self defence. Such principles being as we believe founded upon the plain commands of our Saviour and his apostles. For this reason we cannot perform Military service nor can we in conscience voluntarily pay a fine in order to be exempted therefrom. We therefore respectfully ask that some relief be afforded to our conscientious scruples in these respects. We earnestly desire that the Divine blessing may attend all your deliberations and rest upon our beloved Country.

Signed by direction, and on behalf of the representatives of Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends held 2d. month 25th, 1863.

By Francis T. King, clerk for the day.

The Committee to visit Washington with a copy of the Memorial report that two of their number attended the sitting of Congress in company with a delegation from New York Representative Meeting, and had an interview with the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, they were kindly received, and the Memorial was read in the Senate, but as the session was about closing

it was too late to effect any amendment for the relief of our Religious Scruples on the subject of War. Francis T. King, James C. Thomas, James Carey, and Richard M. Janney are appointed a Committee to take under their special care the effect of the Conscription Act on our Members which has recently passed Congress, also to represent this Meeting in Conference with Committees of other Meetings for Sufferings if such are appointed.

At a Meeting for Sufferings held in Baltimore 11th. month 21st. 1863: The Committee to have a care over the interests of our Religious Society in relation to the Military Draft, and other subjects connected with War, Report that two of their number had a very full interview with the Secretary of War, on behalf of two conscripted Friends, who are under arrest. The Secretary set forth with much feeling and stress the embarrassment which our position caused the Government, and our own Society, as well as himself personally in his efforts to grant us exemption unconditionally, for which he had no law. He spoke of a large draft which will soon be enforced, and the necessity of some definite settled course for him to pursue.

He wished Friends to have a general Conference of their Committees to consider a proposition from him, "which he believed would satisfy them and relieve him, and the Government." And that he expects to hear from them in relation to it. He proposes to create a Special Fund for the benefit of the Freedmen, and to exempt Friends from Military Service upon the payment of \$300. into this fund. Said payment not to be as in other cases to the District Provost Marshal, but to his fiscal Agent at Washington to be credited on his books to the Freedmen, and that Friends can have the disbursement of it thro their own agents, and laborers. He expressed deep interest in organized, and individual efforts of Friends to elevate the moral, and physical condition of the manumitted Slaves, and was "willing to accept this medium as a relief for our members from the draft—the only legal mode in his power."

Our Committee informed him that they would convey the result of their interview to Friends generally. After a time of serious deliberation without entering upon the proposition itself, this Meeting concluded to lay the foregoing report before the several

Meetings for Sufferings on this Continent inviting them to appoint Committees to meet in Conference in this City at 9 o'clock A.M. on 2d. day 12th. month 1863 to consider the whole subject believing that the time has come for our widely spread Society to have some definite, and settled understanding with the Government in relation to Drafts, that now are, and soon will be ordered.

The Committee appointed last year by this Meeting to represent it in any Conference which may be called during the War is directed to represent us in accordance with the foregoing minute Viz. Francis T. King, James C. Thomas, James Carey, and Richard M. Janney.

ENROLLMENT BILL.

At a called Meeting to consider the propriety of Memorializing Congress in relation to the Enrollment Bill which is now upon its passage. After due consideration it was concluded to, present the following Memorial to the United States Senate, and House of Representatives, and to furnish each Member with a copy.

To the Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Religious Society of Friends within the limits of Baltimore Yearly Meeting embracing Maryland, Virginia, and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania, would respectfully represent: That we view with much concern the action of Congress upon the Enrollment Bill now before it, involving as it does a fundamental principle of our religious Faith. Many of the early Christians would not fight, and our Church has consistently refused to do so, since its origin, over two centuries ago, even in self defense, on the ground that it is contrary to the commands of our Saviour; this belief is a part of our Religion, and we would respectfully ask for a continuance to us of liberty of conscience, and our Constitutional right "to the free exercise thereof," by granting us exemption from Military service. We acknowledge Civil Government to be a divine ordinance and we do not wish, especially in this day of trial, to shrink from any duties of faithful citizenship, which do not contravene the paramount law of Christ. We feel deeply for our beloved Country, and earnestly crave that the

Divine blessing may rest upon it,—upon the President, and all in authority. Signed by direction, and on behalf of the Representatives of Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends held 12th. month 31st, 1863

By John Scott, Clerk.

The Committee to represent Baltimore Meeting for Sufferings in any Conference of Committees which may be convened with the call issued by this Meeting. A Conference of Committees from New England, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Western, & Baltimore Yearly Meetings assembled in this City, the 7th. instant. The full Minutes of the Conference which we herewith submit will set forth its proceedings.

On behalf of the Committee,

James Carey.

CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS HELD IN BALTIMORE

At a Conference of Friends held in Baltimore 7th of 12th. month 1863 in pursuance of a call from Baltimore Meeting for Sufferings the 21st of 11th. month 1863.

After a time of deep Religious exercise and feeling in which the hearts of all were humbled under a sense of the weight, and responsibility of the occasion, and our need of that heavenly wisdom which alone directs and keeps us, the Conference was organized by the appointment of Francis T. King as clerk.

Minutes were received, and read from the Meetings for Sufferings of New England, New York, Baltimore, Ohio, Indiana, and Western Yearly Meetings appointing the following Committees to meet in conference in the City of Baltimore to consider the proposition, and general concern embraced in the minute from Baltimore. Viz. New England: Samuel Boyd Tobey, John D. Lang, Samuel Boyce, Stephen A. Chase, Gilbert Congdon, and Wm. A. Robinson. New York: James Congdon, Benjamin Tatham, John S. Thomas, and William Wood, and Robert Lindley Murray. Baltimore: Francis T. King, James C. Thomas, James Carey, Richard M. Janney. Ohio: John D. Elliott, Ezra Cattell, Jonnathan Binns, and John Butler. Indiana: Charles F.

Coffin, Daniel Hill, Francis W. Thomas, and Levi Jessup. Western: Robert W. Hodson, James Kersey, William E. Morris, and Jeremiah Grinnell, who were present, except two from New England. A letter was received from the clerk of Iowa Meeting for Sufferings stating that that Meeting could not be convened in time to send delegates to this Conference. After a free and full interchange of views we were united in adopting the following minute as expressive of our judgment.

The Conference assembles under a deep sense of its responsibility to the Head of the Church, and to the Members of our Religious Society especially to our young men, who are particularly interested in the cause that has brought us together; and as faithful representatives of those who have appointed us, we believe it right for us first to record our united sense and judgment, that Friends continue to be solemnly bound unswervingly to maintain our ancient faith, and belief, that War is forbidden in the Gospel, and that as followers of the Prince of Peace, we cannot contribute to its support, or in any way participate in its spirit. That to render other service as an equivalent or, in lieu of the requisition for Military purposes is a compromise of a vital principle which we feel conscientiously bound to support, under all circumstances, and notwithstanding any trials to which we may be subjected. But while thus recording our sense of obligation to maintain in all its fullness, and purity, this testimony to our belief of the imperative duty of abstaining from all Wars, and regarding sacredly the rights of conscience, we have been introduced afresh into sympathy with those now in authority in the General Government in the peculiar difficulties, and trials, in which they are involved. We gratefully appreciate the kindness evinced at all times by the President, and Secretary of War, when we have applied to them for relief from suffering for conscience sake, and honor them for their charity, and manifested regard for religious liberty. We have ever believed, and do without any reservation believe in the necessity of Civil Government, that it is a Divine ordinance, and that it is our duty to sustain it by all the influence we may exert, both by word and deed, subject to the paramount law of Christ; and in this day of fearful strife, when so many of our fellow citizens are brought into suffering,

we have no desire to shrink from the discharge of all our duty, nor from contributing to the relief of distress by every means in our power. To feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick, and distressed, now so numerous in our Country, are among the prominent commands of Christ. In special manner Friends have long believed it their duty to labor for the relief, and freedom of the bond-man, and now so many are becoming free from bondage, in the progress of passing events, and need abundant ministration, both to their physical, and mental necessities, we rejoice to find that Friends generally are engaged in their behalf, and we desire to encourage our fellow members in every part of our land to continued, and increased efforts in this way, thus relieving the Government of a portion of the heavy burden now resting upon it. In this way, and by many other means, Friends can discharge the duties of good Citizenship without infringing upon our principles of Peace, and we desire to impress upon them the duty of embracing every right opening for the exercise of Christian benevolence toward their suffering fellow citizens. Upon the further consideration of the general subject which brought us together, it was the judgment of the Conference that a small Committee should be appointed to proceed to Washington without delay, to have an interview with the Secretary of War, in consequence of the communication embraced in the minute of Baltimore Meeting for Sufferings. Francis T. King, Charles F. Coffin, and Samuel Boyd Tobey, were appointed that Committee.

The Committee met at 7.12 P.M. on the 8th. The following report was received from the Committee appointed yesterday to obtain an interview with the Secretary of War, and their action was approved of by this Committee.

The interview was readily obtained, and the Committee stated to him at length the views of Friends in regard to the Draft, and that we could not directly or indirectly pay money in lieu of Military Service but that we were both willing, and desirous to do all we could conscientiously, to aid Government, that we had already done much for the Freedmen, and were proposing to extend our field of labor in their behalf, and that we had also assisted in caring for the sick and wounded that we did these things as a matter of Christian duty, and should do them whether

relieved from Military Service or not. We also expressed to Secretary Stanton the thanks of Friends for the great kindness he had uniformly shown, and that we felt desirous if possible that some understanding should be had by which he would be relieved from being so often called on by Friends for relief.

Secretary Stanton listened with earnest attention to the remarks, and at the close enquired whether we had any proposition to make, that he was fully aware of the liberality of Friends and knew they had done much for the Freedmen, and that he fully appreciated it, but that he could not, on this ground release them from compliance with the Laws of the Land. That he stood only as an officer to execute the Laws and had nothing to do with making them; that if their liberality released them from the Drafts, the same cause would release nearly every one, and no soldiers could be found; that all Sects, and Denominations, and people of every class had shown an extended liberality, and if Friends had done more than others it was because they were better able to do it. But he had great respect for their conscientious scruples, and should be very sorry to oppress them, and with this view made a proposition the only one he could make. Being asked to restate this, he said it was "that every Friend should when drafted appear before the Provost Marshal and state that he is a member of the Society of Friends, and has conscientious objections to perform Military Service. He would instruct the Provost Marshals, not to proceed against such until after they had notified him. That such Friends should immediately inform Secretary Stanton by letter marked 'on business connected with the Draft' and that upon payment of \$300.00 each to the Provost Marshal General at Washington they shall be released. The money should not go into the general fund but, he would pledge himself, should be used to aid the destitute and suffering "Contrabands"—That in this War there were two duties to perform by the Government one to destroy the Rebellion, and the other to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked Freedmen. That last being a work of mercy, and not of destruction might be done by Friends."

When asked in reference to the disposition of the funds thus raised he said "he would have to review his former promise, it would be probably handed over to the Society to distribute, but of

this he would not say certainly until he had further examined the Law, it might have to be distributed by the Government Officers but if by them, it should be faithfully and judiciously used."

When told that such a payment would be considered as infringing on the rights of conscience, he said "that he could understand no such abstraction as that—that it was a work of mercy, and in accordance with the commands of Christ, and if our members did not choose to accept so liberal an offer, he could do no more for them the Law would have to take its effect." He said "that if any Meeting or body of Friends choose to place funds in his hands, in advance, to a greater amount than would be requisite to cover all their members who would be likely to be Drafted he would receive their funds and release all such as should be Drafted, and apply the funds as previously proposed." He voluntarily observed "that he would hold his plan open, and that the Society in general, or any Meeting or individual Friend might avail themselves of it." His views were ably, and cogently stated, and while he showed great courtesy, and kindness, he also manifested much firmness, and decision. Having stated fully the difficulties in which Friends would be involved by complying with the proposition of the Secretary we thought best to leave the matter for his further consideration.

Samuel Boyd Tobey,
Francis T. King,
Charles F. Coffin.

Baltimore 12th. mo. 8th. 1863.

In viewing the exercises of the Conference we are brought in humility to feel that we have not met in vain, nor has the Lord veiled his face from us, and we are now, as the time of our separation is at hand, brought into renewed, and very tender sympathy with our dear young men who may be brought into trials which they have not yet known. We entreat these, where ever located to remember that obedience to the law of God is our first and paramount duty, and that He is omnipotent and omnipresent, and that His ear is open to the cry of all His dependent children, and that leaning upon His almighty arm in faith we have nothing to fear.

We earnestly exhort you prayerfully to exercise an unfailing

trust, and we believe you will find a way open for your preservation, and deliverance. In a meek and quiet spirit avoid unprofitable discussions on the exciting topics of the day be not hasty in determining in advance what course you will pursue as the contingency may arise that will, require a decision, wait in patience and in faith and filial love, and dependance, and your Heavenly Father will shew you what to do. Our elder brethren we exhort to keep very near to our younger Friends counsel them in the wisdom of Truth give them full evidence that you are ready to participate with them in all their burdens, that you really love them, and are willing to suffer with them, if suffering for Christ's sake should be their lot; and while we are thus engaged in addressing our fellow members, who are concerned to walk in the light of the Lord, and obey the leadings of the Gospel and the commandments of Christ we take comfort in the belief, that as a way has thus far been opened for us the blessed Master will continue to strengthen us, and enable us to keep His laws.

Believing that the interests of our Society would be served by the appointment of a committee to watch over the Legislation of Congress, and the operations of the Draft, and to act in such a way for the relief of Friends as Truth may direct, with full power if they deem it advisable to call together again this Conference we appoint to that service—Francis T. King, James C. Thomas, James Carey, and Richard M. Janney; Post offices; Baltimore. Benjamin Tatham, New York, Samuel Boyce, Lynn, Massachusetts, John Butler, Salem, Ohio, Charles F. Coffin, Richmond, Indiana; and Robert W. Hodson, Plainfield, Indiana. Our clerk is directed to furnish each Meeting for Sufferings with a copy of its minutes, and one to Iowa; he is also directed to invite that Meeting to any future Meeting of this body should one be called by the special Committee.

The precious covering which has been at times extended over us during the sittings of this Conference has been graciously renewed, as we are about to separate, and under this feeling we would commend one another to our merciful Father. Adjourned to meet at the call of the special Committee if the Lord will

Francis T. King, Clerk to
the Committee.

DRAFT &C.

Baltimore 11th. month 23d. 1864

The Memorial which we were directed to print, and present to Congress was read in each House, and referred to the Military Committee. Copies were also laid upon the desk of each Senator, and Member. We met in Washington Committees from New York, New England, and Ohio Meetings with Memorials of a similar character, and united with them in very interesting interviews of an hour each before the Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs. Deep interest was manifested by these Committees on our views upon War, and in the arguments, and appeals for liberty of conscience, and unconditional exemption from Military service, which were presented to them. Congress finally engrafted into the Enrollment Bill a section very much in accordance with the proposition of Secretary Stanton contained in our minutes of 12th month last, declaring Friends to be noncombatants assigning them into Hospital or Freedman's service or exempting them upon the payment of \$300.00 into a fund for the relief of the sick, and wounded. In the 5th month following the Enrollment Bill was materially amended, and the section relating to Friends stricken out, before the passage of the amended bill however that section was restored.

We feel satisfied that a majority of both Houses would have granted Friends unconditional exemption from Military Service, had they not believed it would embarrass the Government when the Draft was seriously resisted in several parts of the country.

10th. month 1865 The Committee to watch over the interests of our Religious Society in connection with the Draft, and other subjects relating to the War, made the following report which is acceptable and the Committee released: "That upon the assassination of our late honored and beloved President Abraham Lincoln, and the succession of the Vice President Andrew Johnson, to the responsible position of Head of the Nation. The sub-Committee of the Conference which met here in 12th. month 1863 was called together 5th. month 1865 under the belief that some expression of feeling was due from the Society of Friends to the Govern-

ment upon the great calamity which had befallen our Country. Three of our Committee with a delegation from New England and Ohio visited Washington for that purpose. The New York Committee misunderstood the time, and those of Indiana, Western, and Iowa were unavoidably prevented from attending. They all however cordially endorsed the concern. We append to this report a detailed account of the proceedings.

One of our Committee visited Washington frequently during the early part of this year on behalf of one of our own members, and several drafted ones of other Yearly Meetings. The Government in every instance granted the relief asked for. The War having closed, and peace being again restored to our Country we would recommend the release of the Committee.

Baltimore 10th month 19th. 1865.

Francis T. King,
James Carey,
James C. Thomas.

President Johnson received the delegation standing in his room in the Treasury Buildings, and Isaac Newton, then Commissioner of Agriculture, who had kindly introduced us. After our introduction one of the Committee, read the following address to which the President listened respectfully.

To Andrew Johnson President of the United States.

We appear before thee, as Representatives of the Religious Society of Friends. We desire to express our heartfelt grief in common with all true men, under the terrible calamity in which our Nation has been involved by the assassination of our honored chief Magistrate the late Abraham Lincoln, a ruler whom we sincerely, and warmly loved and to whom we accorded our profound gratitude. We sympathise with thee President Johnson, on thy being called to the discharge of duties always of the greatest importance, but especially difficult and embarrassing in the peculiar situation of our Country. We rejoice that the people of our land, and the Authorities of the States have given unmistakable evidence, that thou hast their hearty support as the Head of the Nation. permit us to say that the Religious Society which we represent, has ever been loyal to the Government, always engaged

by every means, which they can conscientiously use to uphold it, and duly respect and honor those placed in Authority. We tender thee the assurance of our sincere regard. We pray for thee that thou mayest receive Divine Grace to cheer, and comfort thee Divine guidance to lead, and direct thee, Divine protection to sustain and keep thee. We crave that thy administration of the Government may be to the honor of God, and the welfare of the people, and that thou mayest be instrumental in restoring permanent Peace.

May the blessing of Heaven descend upon our beloved Country, and may the Kingdom of our Lord, and Saviour Jesus Christ be extended therein and through out the whole world.

Washington 5th. mo. 4th. 1865.

The President replied—That he would say to us what he had said to other Delegations, that he felt greatly the weight of responsibility that had come upon him, and no one felt more deeply than himself the sad event which had occasioned it. He desired to acknowledge his thanks for this expression of the support of the Society of Friends. His administration of the Government was rendered easier by such expressions of confidence, it would perhaps be impossible without them. That he appreciated the position of the Society of Friends; when they said that they rendered to Government all the support they conscientiously could, that while he might differ with them on one point, and had heartily given his support to the Nation's vindicating its integrity by force of Arms—he would take this occasion to say that the constitution of his own mind was for peace rather than war. He rejoiced in the proud position of his Country had won for herself—in the glorious deeds, which her brave soldiers, and sailors had inscribed on her escution. Yet he would say that the bright bow of Peace was arching in the skies; without any disrespect to the Army and Navy for he wished them the honor of it, that he would rather bear the mark of the shop on his hands, and the dust of the soil on his garments, than to wear the glittering plumage of the laureled warrior. He repeated the constitution of his mind is for peace rather than for war and that he desired to promote amongst his fellow citizens, and amongst foreign Nations the cause of Peace, and good will to men. He wished to express again his

thanks to the Society of Friends for this evidence of their interest and support.

A member of the committee then expressed much feeling and sympathy with the President in his responsible position, desiring that he should look to the Lord for direction, and ability to fulfill his duties reminding him, that the prophet Daniel, when the weight of a great nation was resting upon him, morning, noon and evening to put up his petitions to the Lord. He desired that he might carry forward the great work of the abolition of Slavery to its full and complete consumation, that the Lord might protect him on every hand.

The committee then called upon Secretary Stanton who received them in his inner office alone. When we were seated Francis T. King introduced the subject by remarking that coming to Washington to present an address to the President; they felt unwilling to leave the city without calling to express their thankfulness to him; for his uniform kindness, and consideration with which his department had treated Friends—that they deeply appreciated it, and desired, although a people of few words to express it to him, also to read to him the address just delivered to the President to which he assented and it was done. After which a member of the committee expressed on behalf of himself, and the Society; his sense of the Secretary's kindness and the favor he had shown Friends and said he believed the Divine blessing would rest upon him for his conscientious efforts to relieve Friends, that their prayers had arisen for his preservation, and support. Another member on behalf of the young men of the Society, whom the kindness of the Secretary had often relieved, desired to assure him that he shared the warm feelings so well expressed by his elder Friends; that both in the administration of his own Department, and in his promotion of favorable Legislation on this subject, they recognized his kindness and accorded him their warm gratitude. One of the committee added that he was grateful not only for the relief afforded to our members, but especially for his and the Government's recognition of the rights of conscience and the respect they have manifested for Religious scruples.

The Secretary of War replied with much feeling. He said "that he deeply appreciated the sentiments which had been ex-

pressed, that in the administration of his Department he had ever sought to respect the Religious views of the Society of Friends, and other Religious Bodies, and had been careful from the moment he solemnly assumed the duties of his office to endeavor to do no act which could by displeasing the Almighty, bring His displeasure upon the Country, that in the merciful preservation of his own life when others better, and abler than himself, and more fitted to advance the interests of the Nation had been smitten down, he recognized the hand of Divine power, the wisdom of whose decrees it was not for him to question. If the prayers of your people have gone up for the Government during the continuance of the contest they are more needed now; when a greater work is before us. It is a comparatively easier matter to overcome physical force—although it is in the power of the Lord *not* to grant the battle to the strong nor the race to the swift—but the task before us now is to conquer ourselves, to restrain our passions, that our successes might not turn to ashes on our lips, but that we might act as to restore to our Country the blessings of Peace. To this end the prayers of all good men, and women should be incessantly raised to our Heavenly Father that His blessing might rest upon the Head of the Government, and His advisers, and that while he continued to administer the affairs of his Department he should be actuated by these desires.”

After a brief silence one of the committee knelt, the Secretary kneeling beside him, when the prayer was offered up that the blessing of the Lord might rest upon this opportunity, and that the sentiments which had just been expressed might prevail in the councils of the Nation. It would be difficult to convey in words the solemnity of the occasion and the deep earnestness, the simplicity and reverent manner with which the Secretary of War, expressed these noble sentiments, to which but feeble justice has been done.

FRIENDS' MEETINGS IN AMERICA, 1772.

There has lately passed through the hands of the writer a manuscript book entitled "An Account of all the Yearly, Quarterly, Monthly and Particular Meetings of the People called Quakers in the several Provinces in America when & where held & now constituted—17th 8th mo. 1772."* It is written in a hand of that period very neatly and distinctly, and is carefully and thoroughly indexed. There is also a rough map, slightly defective, of New England Yearly Meeting. This would seem to indicate a New England origin. There is no other clue to where it was written.

According to this book there were in 1772 one hundred and eighty "Particular Meetings." The Yearly Meetings are given as follows:

I. Rhode Island Yearly Meeting which takes in all the Meetings in the Governments of Rhode Island, Boston & New Hampshire, is held at Newport the second 6th Day in the 6th Month annually being composed of three Quarterly Meetings, viz.:

1. Newport Quarterly Meeting; which is made up of 7 Monthly Meetings;
2. Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. . . . which is made up of two Monthly Meetings;
3. Salem Quarterly Meeting. . . . which is composed of four Monthly Meetings. . . .

"There are General Meetings for Worship belonging to Rhode Island Yearly Meeting held as follows," at Nantucket, Sandwich, Dartmouth, Swanzey, Providence, Greenwich, Kingstown.

II. Flushing Yearly Meeting which takes in all the Meetings in the Governments of Connecticut & New York is held the last 1st Day in the 5th mo. annually at Flushing composed of two Quarterly Meetings viz.:

1. Flushing Quarterly Meeting. . . . which is constituted of two Monthly Meetings."

*Now in the Library of Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

2. Purchase Quarterly Meeting. . . . which is composed of two Monthly Meetings."

"General Meetings for Worship belonging to Flushing Yearly Meeting are held at. . Setachet, Newtown, Westbury, Martinicock."

III. "The Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania & New Jersey which takes in all the meetings in those two Provinces & some few in the Northern parts of Maryland and Virginia is held at Philadelphia the fourth first day in ye 9th month annually, consisting of seven Quarterly Meetings, viz.": 1, Shrewsbury Quarterly Meeting. . . . made up of two Monthly Meetings. . . . 2, Burlington Quarterly Meeting. . . . composed of four Monthly Meetings. 3, Gloucester & Salem Quarterly Meeting composed of four Monthly meetings. . . . 4, Bucks County Quarterly Meeting. . . . composed of 4 Monthly Meetings. . . . 5, Philadelphia. . . . composed of 6 Monthly Meetings. . . . 6, Concord. . . . composed of 5 Monthly Meetings. . . . 7, Western. . . . composed of 10 Monthly Meetings. . . .

General Meetings belonging to the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania & New Jersey held as follows—At Philadelphia, Wilmington, Duck Creek, Salem, Little Egg Harbour, Goshen, Uwchland, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Little Creek, Lancaster.

IV. West River Yearly Meeting in Maryland is held at the time called Whitsuntide ["the seventh Sunday after Easter"] in every year at West River, & at Choptank (or third haven) the 3rd 1st day in ye 10 mo. by adjournments, consisting of two Quarterly Meetings viz.:—1, Gunpowder Quarterly Meeting. . . . composed of 2 Monthly Meetings: . . . 2, Choptank Quarterly Meeting. . . . consisting of two Monthly Meetings. . . . General Meetings for Worship belonging to West River & Choptank Yearly Meetings are held as follows at Chester River, Cecil.

V. The Yearly Meeting for Virginia circulates from Curles to Black Water & begins on the 6th Day of the Week before the time called Whitsuntide & ends on the 2d following & is to be

held at Curles in 1768,* being composed of 2 Quarterly Meetings. . . . 1, Cedar Creek Quarterly Meeting. . . . composed of 3 Monthly Meetings. . . . 2, Black Water Quarterly Meeting composed of 2 Monthly Meetings.

VI. The Yearly Meeting in North Carolina is held at the old Neck in Perquimons County the 4th 6th Day in ye 10 mo annually being composed of 2 Quarterly Meetings Viz.: 1, Perquimons & Pasquetank. . . . which is composed of 5 monthly Meetings. . . . 2, New Garden & Cane Creek Quarterly Meeting. . . . being composed of 2 Quarterly Meetings."

The "General Meetings" or "General Meetings for Worship" seem to have been purely religious meetings held once a year at suitable places in the Yearly Meetings. None are given for Virginia or North Carolina; whether this is because there were none, or because of lack of knowledge does not appear. The latter reason is not improbable, for the information given regarding those Yearly Meetings is less detailed than that regarding the other Yearly Meetings. It would have added much to the interest of the book had there been even an estimate of the number of members. Some of the spelling of the names is here given: Leister (Leicester); Marrineck (Mamaroneck); Shapaquash (Chappaqua); Ancocus (Rancocos); Nantmile (Nantmeal); Potapasco; Trentown; Newberry (Newburyport).

A LETTER OF SARAH (ELLIS) WOOLMAN.

The accompanying letter has recently come to light among a bundle addressed to members of the Morris and Smith families. It was written by Sarah Woolman, the widow of John Woolman, who had died in England four years before the date of this letter. She survived him until (?) Her house was at Mount Holly, New Jersey, and all the persons named were members of the same Monthly Meeting.

John Smith, whose welfare thus rested upon the mind of

*This date would seem to imply that the data regarding this Meeting were based on information received not later than 1767.

Sarah Woolman, was the son of Hon. John Smith, of Philadelphia, Burlington, and Franklin Park (near Rancocas), who married Hannah, the daughter of James Logan, William Penn's Secretary of State.

John Smith, 2nd, was born in 1761, and was therefore fifteen years old when this letter was written. His father died in 1771, at the early age of forty-eight, and his mother at his birth. The care of their four orphans devolved upon the uncles of the children, and it is therefore to Samuel Smith, the historian of New Jersey, and to William Logan, son of James Logan, that Sarah Woolman refers in her letter, which is unfortunately without superscription.

John Smith married, 1784, Gulielma Maria (1766-1826), daughter of William and Margaret (Hill) Morris of Burlington, New Jersey, and his death, of a pulmonary complaint, took place in 1803, at the age of forty-two. He was never robust, and his life was chiefly spent upon his farm at "Green Hill," three miles from Burlington, where Samuel Jenings had once lived. The father of his wife had been a promising young physician, who was one of the many yellow fever victims of the awful summer of 1793 in Philadelphia.

Mindful of the professional ambitions and the prominent social connections of Dr. John Morris, Sarah Woolman may have feared that John Smith would be led into "worldly ambitions." But he chose to devote his time to the cultivation of a highly productive and successful farm, and the dear lady's fears were therefore groundless.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

[Endorsement] [Mount Holly in 1st mo: 1776.]

Dear friend

a Concern hath rested on my mind in behalf of John Smith Remembring what Inocence his Dear Creator Bestowed upon him and what a Lamentable Case it should be lost or mar^d for want timely Care or Chusing a trade may be most for his Spiritual advantage rather than worldly profit may his friends and near Relations dwell Deep in their mind before him whose dwelling is on high may you seek to be directed by best wisdom in so waty a

matter and have a watchfull Care over this Beloved youth for his Incouragement in ye Blessed way now hath my mind been united In near Love & Simpathy in Behalf of this Dear Child and his wellfare this Inocence may not be Lost [for] want of Scilfull management I Remember Several years past a friend Said in my hearing if he lived to be old anuf was Intended to bee a doctor or a lawyer it Gave me a whome Stroke and Sorrow fileth my mind lest it may not prove for his Everlasting advantage aspiring after greatness for alas what is this world and ye pleasures here below when Compared with Eternity Choosing that which may keep his mind most free from Entanglements of any kind and this youth be Instructed in the paths of virtly and have time to read Good Books and Seek after Humility of hart and find acquaintance & acceptance with his Creator the Humble he will teach of his ways and the Meek guide in Judgment which is more to be valued than all ye pleasures this world Can afford which is very aluring to youth I would Just Expres those hints that I may be Clear for you know I am a poor Cretor and have had a humbling Season and believe these remarks Simple but looking toward the winding up of time hear below and that I may not feel anguish of mind if things Should not Succeed well hereafter and I Could not well be Silent Except I rite Something [of] this kind now if he Should Chuse to be a farmer and you Could find a Honnest man would it not be best and his mind more at Liberty and Serean in meditation on divinity & ye Divine being and may he rule whose rite it is and worthy to have room in our harts I was Informed by a young man Going to rawway John Smith'[s] 2 unkels Samuel S[mith] & William Login Intended he Should be a docter and the youth rather chose be a farmer young man said was Sorry he Should be a doctor & pityed him to this purpose it caused a fresh Concern in my mind and now dear friend if thou Enquire and if there be not a Cause then rather this was Conceled I hope thou may alow for weakness and a Stammering one.

farewell S[arah] W[oolman]*

rather this had a bee comprised in few words

*In his Journal John Woolman thus speaks of his marriage: "About this time, believing it good for me to settle, and thinking seriously about a companion, my heart was turned to the Lord with desires

A letter from John Smith's great uncle, Richard Wells to his sister, Margaret Morris, dated "Philadelphia, Jan. 25th. 1775" contains the following apropos the same subject—

"I think the study of Physick will suit Johnny very well, if it don't lead him to acts of Surgery, especially *Toothdrawing*—but upon second thoughts, there's a good deal of difference between drawing out another Man's and having out one of one's own; O Shonny, Shonny! If ever he gets hold of a Leg or an Arm or a Head of mine by way of Amputation, how he'll make me pay for this! The large family amongst us—the Morris's, the Wells, the Hills—may keep a Chariott constantly running. And pray, what is honest Dick to do? Is he to be a lawyer or a parson? Sure if one Son goes to the liberal Profession, the other must not disgrace him by riding on his Meal Cart, unless you might think that the family ought to play into each other's hands, and that the little Doctor's great *wig* will take a great deal of Powder, and so poor Dick must be the Doctor's powder monkey, to verify the old Proverb and make *Jack the Gentleman*! Never mind, honest namesake! Thou mayest get into good Bread, whilst the Doctor's gilded Chariott may make his teeth chatter for want of it. *Amongst Friends*, I hope the honest Lad will have more Custom than His Brother! And so farewell.

R. W." [Richard Wells.]

WILLIAM PENN ON THE CHOICE OF BOOKS.

This interesting letter is reprinted from the "Quaker Post-Bag," noticed elsewhere in this number of THE BULLETIN. It reveals the breadth of Penn's mind and his freedom from sectarianism. It also shows his appreciation of the value of past and contemporary biography, history, politics, theology, and kindred subjects. It will be noticed, however, that he almost wholly neglects the field of literature, and even such works as Bacon's

that He would give me wisdom to proceed therein agreeably to his will, and He was pleased to give me a well-inclined damsel, Sarah Ellis, to whom I was married the 18th of eighth month, 1749." "Journal," New Century edition, London, 1900, p. 66.—EDITOR.

"Henry VII," and More's "Utopia," he values for other reasons than literary.

His advice is generally sound, and not a few of the works he recommends are still standard. His maxim, "Allways write thy name in the Title Pages," would not be accepted by most persons now, for such a practice defaces the book, and besides the fly leaves are a much better place for indicating ownership.

Believing that it would add much to the interest of readers, the dates and titles of the works, and the full names of the authors, with the dates of birth and death, have been supplied, so far as it has been practicable to do so. Occasionally other information has been added.

From William Penn to Sir John Rodes

For

S^r John Rodes

att

Joseph Storrs

Wollen-Draper

In Chesterfield.

the $\frac{m}{8}$ 1693.

DEAR FRIEND,—I hope I shall allways be ready to show thee how much I desire thy prosperity every way. It is long I have travelled in my spirit for thee and knowing the temptations that would grow upon thee and the evil days by means thereof that must attend thee, I have prayed that thy faith fail not, and that thou faintest not by the way; for thou hast been called to a glorious mark, even that of an Heirship with the Beloved of God in Eternal Habitations. The Lord preserve thee to the end. Now as to w^t I meant at C. Mars [Christmas], it is this: a Course or Method of life as far as we can be our own, I would divide my days of the week, and then the times of the day, and when I had Considered and divided my business, I would proportion it to my time. Suppose, for example, thus: $\frac{1}{4}$ to Religion, in Waiting, Reading, Meditating &c. . . . $\frac{1}{4}$ to some generall study. $\frac{1}{4}$ to meals and some Bodily Labour as Gardening, or some Mathematicall Exercise. $\frac{1}{4}$ to serve friends or neighbors and look after my Estate; It prevents consumption of time and con-

fusion in Business. The books I spoke of that are most valuable for a moderate Library are as follow. For Religion, the Bible, Friends' Books, of w^{ch} I advise an exact collection, binding the small up in vollumes together. The Books of Martyrs. For Controversy between Pap [Papists] and Protestants Bp [Bishop] Jewel against Harding. L^d Faulkland of Infalibility, and Chillingworth. For Devotion the Scriptures, Friends' Epistles, Austin his City of God, his Soliloquies, Thom a Kempis, Bona, a late piece called Unum Necessarium, and a Voyce crying out of the Wilderness writt in Q. Elizabeth's time*; of Books forerunning Friends appearance. T [J]. Saltmarsh, W. Dell, W. Erberry, Goad, Coppins, & Webster his Works. For Religious History Euse-

* "Jewel," John Jewel (1522-1571) bishop of Salisbury, a great Anglican and controversialist, Thomas Harding (1516-1572) abandoned Protestantism and retired to Louvain on the accession of Elizabeth. "Lord Falkland," Lucius Cary (1610(?)-1643), Lord Falkland, one of the heroes of Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. "Chillingworth," William Chillingworth. (1602-1644) a theologian; he first accepted Romanism, studied at the Catholic College at Douay, and then abjured Romanism, becoming a strong Protestant; his great work is "The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation" (1638). "Austin," St. Augustine (354-430), bishop of Hippo, North Africa, one of the greatest Church Fathers, and who has had an influence on the Christian Church perhaps only second to the Apostle Paul. His "City of God" is the great book of the 5th Century, and one of the great books of the world. His "Soliloquies," written in his thirty-third year, is, perhaps, his earliest work; it is a Dialogue between Reason and the Soul, a new translation has just appeared (1910); Thomas à Kempis (1388-1471), whose "Imitation of Christ" is one of the greatest devotional books ever written. It has passed through innumerable editions, and been translated into many languages. "Bona," Bonaventura, the surname of John of Fidanza (1221-1274), known as the "Doctor Seraphic." Dante puts him in his "Paradiso." He was one of the greatest of the Schoolmen. Penn probably refers to his "Meditations on the Life of Christ." One of his sayings is, "The best perfection of a religious man is to do common things in a perfect manner. A constant fidelity in small things is a great and heroic virtue." "Unum Necessarium;" it is not clear to what book Penn refers under this name. A remarkable Economic tract, "Unum Necessarium, or the Poor Man's Case," by John Cook, the Regicide, was published in 1648, but Penn would hardly have placed it alongside of Thomas à Kempis. "A Voyce Crying out of the Wilderness," it has not been possible to identify this. It is pos-

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bius, Bp Usher's Annals, Cradock of the Apostles, History of the Waldenses, S^r Sam Morland's of the Persecutions in Piedmont. Of mixt & generall History Prideaux, thin quarto, Petavius, a thin folio. Afterwards D^r Howel late of Cambridge, not forgetting S^r W. Raleigh's for his Preface sake. For natural Philosophy Enchiridion Physical and some of Sqr. Boyle's Works. For Mathematicks, Leyborn. For Physick, Reverius, For the Gall, Way, and for Chymistry le Faber, unless a Practitioner, then, Helmont, Glauber, Crollius, Hartman Scroder & Tibaut, &c; and Improvem^{ts} of Lands & Gardens Blith & Smith, Systema Agriculturae, English and French Gardener.*

sible, however, that Penn's memory may be at fault, for there was a book published in 1668, "The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness, or the Business of a Christian, both antecedaneous to, and concomitant of, and consequent upon a sore and heavy Visitation. Edited by S. S. [Samuel Shaw], London, 1668." It seems likely this is the work meant.

* "T. Saltmarsh," is doubtless an error in transcription for "J"; John Saltmarsh (d. 1647) of Cambridge was a Mystic whose writings in many respects resembled those of the early Friends. Some of the titles of his books are good examples of the fanciful wording of that day: "Perfume against the Sulpherous Stinke of the Smutt of the Light for Smoak called Novello Mastix," etc. 1646; "Sparkles of Glory or Some Beams of the Morning Star," 1647. There can be little doubt that his teachings influenced the early Friends. For an excellent account of his views, see Rufus M. Jones, "Studies in Mystical Religion, 1909," pp. 483 ff. "William Dell" was Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, (d. 1644). Many of his views were in close sympathy with those of Friends, and several of his works were published by Quaker booksellers, and had a wide circulation among Friends. The most popular were, "The Tryal of Spirits," etc. 1654 (?), "The Doctrine of Baptisms," 1652, and the "Select Works," 1652 and many editions, one issued by Joseph Sharpless, Nine Partners, N. Y., 1816. "The Doctrine of Baptisms" was translated into Danish by direction of the London Meeting for Sufferings, 1818. Dell never was a Friend. "Erberry," William Erbury (1604-1654), an Oxford scholar, and clergyman, who was forced to resign his living for being a "Schismatic." His views seem to have been radical, and it would be interesting to know which of his works Penn had in mind. "Goad." It is uncertain whom Penn meant. It may have been Christopher Goad who wrote a preface to Dell's Select Works (1700 ed.), or, more probably, Thomas Goad (1576-1638) the author of a number of Theological Tracts. "Coppins," Richard Coppin (d. 1649), who was also a "Schismatic," and author of many tracts some of

For Policy, above all Books, the Bible, that is the old Testament writings, Thucydes [Thucydides], Tacitus, Council of Trent, Machieval, Thynanus, Grotius's Annals. Of our own Country Daniel and Trussel. S^r F^r. Bacon Life of H[enry] 7th, L^d Herbert's H[enry] 8th and Cambden Eliz. S^r Thom[as] Moor's Utopia. Nat[haniel] Bacon, Hist. of the Gov[ernment] of E[ngland]. Saddler's Rights of the Kingdom, S^r Rob[ert] Cotten's Works the Pamphlets since the Reformation pro et con. to be had at the Acorn, in Pauls Yard, to be bound up together, comprisable in about 6 quarto vollumes. Rushworths Collections, tho large, are not unusefull, being particular, and our

them of radical teaching. "Webster," probably John Webster (1610-1682), a Puritan writer. He was author of "The Saint's Guide" (1653), and of a work against Witchcraft (1678). "Eusebius" (266-340), the great historian of the early church. "Usher," James Ussher (1581-1656), Archbishop of Armagh, a great church scholar and student. His sacred Chronology was the standard until very recently, and is still used in many editions of the Bible. His "Annals" is probably the work Penn refers to. "Cradock," Samuel Craddock (1621(?) - 1706), a Congregationalist minister, educated at Cambridge, and author of a number of theological works. Penn refers to his "Apostolical History," etc., 1672. Sir Samuel Morland (1625-1695), a diplomatist, mathematician, and inventor. He was sent to Cromwell to remonstrate with the Duke of Savoy in respect to the Waldensian persecutions, 1655, and in 1658 he published his work on the Persecutions, still a standard authority. He invented a plunger pump, a speaking trumpet, and an arithmetical machine. He tried to use steam as a power, and suggested it as a means for propelling vessels. "Prideaux," Matthias Prideaux. (1622-1646.) He died of small-pox when about 25. A posthumous work was "An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading all Sorts of Histories," etc., 1648, 6th edition, 1682. Penn doubtless refers to this.

"Petavius," (Petau or Petavu), Denis Petavius (1583-1652) a French scholar and Jesuit. He wrote a great work on Chronology, "De Doctrina Temporum." "Howell," William Howell (1638(?) - 1683), published, "An Institution of General History, 1661." Sir Walter Raleigh (1551(?) - 1618) whose "History of the World" (1614) has the famous "Preface." "Enchiridion Physical;" possibly "Enchiridion Phyiscum," by Jean Girard, 1674.

"Boyle," Robert Boyle (1627-1691) one of the greatest scientists and writers of his day. He was one of the founders of the Royal Society, and founded and endowed the "Boyle Lectures," which are still given. "Leyborn," William Leybourn (1626-1700 (?)) a voluminous writer on

own History and the best since 30, w^{ch} is the chiefest time of Action. But I will add one more, the English Memorials, by the Lord Whitlock, a great man, and who dyed a Confessor to Truth, in w^{ch} thy Grandfather is handsomely mentioned.* Thes for the main Body of a study will be sufficient and very accomplishing.

* "Probably his great-grandfather, Sir Gervase Clifton. See Whitlock's "Memorials of the English Affairs, p. 185." [Editor of "Quaker Post-Bag."]

Mathematics; "Riverius," Lazerre Rivière, (1589-1655) a French Medical writer. His "Praxis Medica," 1640, was often reprinted and is doubtless the work to which Penn refers. "Way." This name has not been identified.

"le Faber," Nicholas Lefèvre, a French chemist who came to England on the invitation of Charles II. He died 1674. "Helmont." Jan Baptist van Helmont (1577-1644), born at Brussels, one of the great scientists of his day; he coined the word "gas;" "Glauber," Johann Rudolph Glauber (1604-1668) a German chemist, his name survives in "Glauber's Salts," a popular name for Sodium Sulphate; "Crollius," Oswald Croll, (died 1609) a German chemist; "Hartmann," Johann Hartmann, (1568-1631) another German chemist; "Scroder & Tibaut," Possibly John Schroderus, author of "A Medico-Chemical Pharmacopoeia. Translated into English by W. Rowland, London, 1669." "Thibaut," P. Thibaut, "Art of Chemistry in English, by a Fellow of the Royal Society, London, 1668."

Blith, Walter Blith flourished about 1649. He was the author of "The English Improver or a new Survey of Husbandry," 1649. "Smith;" this work has not been identified. "Systema Agriculturae, or of the several ways of Tilling, Planting, Sowing, and Manuring all sorts of Gardens, Orchards &c, by John Worlidge," (d. 1698), London, 1669, 1677, 1681, etc. "English and French Gardener;" no work of exactly this title has been found. It is more than likely that Penn refers to two works very popular at that time, one by the celebrated John Evelyn (1620-1706), "The French Gardener," 1658, and many subsequent editions; the other by Leonard Meagher (1624-1677(?)). "The English Gardener, or a Sure Guide to Young Planters' and Gardeners, in 3 Parts," London 1690.

"Council of Trent," probably the History of Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623) one of the great books of the time, and still an important authority. He attacked the papal claims of infallibility and the possession of temporal power: "Machieval." Niccolo di Bernardo Machiavelli, (1469-1527); a great Italian statesman and author. His "History of Florence," and "The Prince," are remarkable works; the latter, for its shrewdness, worldly wisdom, and the lack of principle (with which it is charged), have given rise to the adjective "Machiavellian." The

There are other Books of use and vallue, as Selden of Tythes, Tayler's Liberty of Prophecy, Goodwin's Antiquities, Cave's Primative Christianity, Morals of the Gentiles, Plutarch, Seneca, Epictetus, M. A. Antoninus. Also Lives as Plutarch, Stanly's of the Philosophers, Lloyd's State Worthys, Clark's Lives and Win-

book has been translated into most modern languages. Its author has doubtless been somewhat over-blamed. "Thynanus," probably an error in transcription for Thyanus or Thuanus, Jacques Auguste de Thou, (1553-1617), a French historian and statesman. He took a prominent part in framing the Edict of Nantes (1598); his great work is his "History of his own Times" in 7 vols. folio. It is still a standard authority; "Grotius," Hugo Grotius (or De Groot, the Dutch form) (1583-1645), a Dutch jurist and theologian, one of the greatest men of his day, and more than any other one man, the founder of International Law. His greatest works are "De Jure Belli et Pacis," (Concerning the Law of War and Peace), and "On the Truth of the Christian Religion." These have been translated into the principal modern languages. The reference is to his "Annals of the Low Countries, 1657." "Daniel," probably Samuel Daniel (1562-1619), better known as a poet, and termed by his contemporary brother-poet, William Browne, in "Britannia's Pastorals," the "well-linguaged Daniel." Penn probably refers to Daniel's "History of England" in prose; "Trussel," John Trussel, an historical writer, who published a history of England in 1636; Lord Bacon's Life of Henry VII, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury's (Edward Herbert) (1583-1648) Life of Henry VIII are still valuable; "Camden," William Camden (1551-1623) one of the greatest of English antiquaries. His "Britannia," and "Reign of Elizabeth" are standard works; "Sir Thomas Moor" (More) (1478-1535) one of England's greatest men, "the foremost Englishman of his time." His "Utopia" has passed through edition after edition. Nathaniel Bacon (1595-1660) a half-brother of Lord Bacon. Penn refers to his "Historical Discovery of the Uniformity of the Government of England from Edward III to Elizabeth," published first in 1647; "Saddler," probably John Sadler (1615-1674) of Cambridge, who published historical and other works.

"Sir Robert Cotten," Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571-1631), an antiquary, a friend of William Camden, Bacon, Raleigh, and other scholars; he also wrote political and historical works, the collector of the famous Cottonian Library now in the British Museum; "Rushworth," John Rushworth (1612(?) - 1690), an historian, one of the clerks of the House of Commons, one of Cromwell's secretaries, etc., his "Historical Collections" to the year 1648 in 8 vols. folio, is a valuable repository of important historical documents relating to the history of England; "Whitlock," Bulstrode Whitelock (1605-1675) "Keeper of the great

stanley's England's Worthys. There are 6 or 8. Books published by one R. B. as the History of England, S and J surprising miracles, Admirable Curiosities & that have profitable diversion in them.

But if I were to begin again, I would buy as I read, but a few more at least, and in Reading have a Pencil, and w^t is of instruction or observable, mark it in the Margent with the most leading word and collect those memorandums with their Pages into a clean sheet put into the Book or a Pocket Book for that purpose, w^{ch} is the way to fasten w^t one reads and to be master of other mens sense.

Allways write thy name in the Title Pages, if not year and cost, that if lent, the owner may be better remembered and found. Observe to put down in a Pocket-Book, for that purpose, all openings of moment w^{ch} are usually short, but full and lively; for I have few things to remember with more trouble then forgetting

seal," occupied many responsible public positions. His most important work is that here referred to, "Memorials of English Affairs" (1625-1660) published first in 1682. It is still of great value.

"Selden," John Selden (1584-1654) a great English jurist. In his "Mare Clausum" (Closed Sea) (1635) he opposed the more liberal views of Grotius. His "History of Tythes" (1617) gave offence to the clergy and was suppressed by public authority; "Tayler," Jeremy Taylor, (1613-1667), Bishop of Down and Connor; one of England's best known theologians. His "Liberty of Prophesying" (1646) is a practical treatise on toleration; "prophesying" is used in the New Testament sense of preaching. His "Holy Living," and "Holy Dying," devotional works, have had extraordinary popularity and are still read; "Goodwin," probably John Goodwin, (1594(?) - 1665) of Cambridge, a republican theologian and controversialist.

"Cave," William Cave, (1637-1713) an ecclesiastical historian, his "Primitive Christianity" (1672), and "Lives of the Apostles," etc., were standard books of reference until very recent times, and are still somewhat used; "Plutarch" (50(?) - 120(?)) the celebrated Greek author, his "Lives" is one of the great books of the world; Penn refers first to Plutarch's "Morals"; "Seneca," "Lucius Annæus Seneca" (5 B. C.(?) - 65 A. D.) the Roman Dramatist, Philosopher and Moralist; Penn refers to his "Morals;" "Epictetus," a celebrated Stoic philosopher (60(?) A. D. - ?) he left no works, but his sayings were taken down by his disciple Arion and published; only part of them have come down

of such irrecoverable Thoughts and Reflections. I have lost a vollume of them. They come without toyle or beating the Brain, therefore the purer, and upon all subjects, Nature, Grace, and Art. Thou art young, now is the time and use it to the utmost profit. Oh! had I thy time in all liklihood to live, w^t could I not do. Therefore prize thy time. I am now 26 years beyond thy age, and tho I have done and sufferd much, I could be a better Husband of that most precious Jewel. The Lord direct thee in thy ways, and he will if thou take him for thy Guide, and if he be the Guide of thy Youth, to be sure he will not leave thee in thy old age. To him I committ thee and to the word of his Grace with w^{ch} is wisdom and a sound understanding that makes men Gentlemen indeed and accomlisht to inherit both Worlds, for the Earth is for the Meek, and Heaven for the Poor and Pure in Heart and spirit.

Give my love and respects to thy Mother and Relations; all

to us. His "Enchiridion," or "Handbook" has had an extraordinary popularity down to the present day; "M. A. Antoninus," Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (121-180), the Roman Emperor, generally known as Marcus Aurelius. His "Meditations," like the works of Epictetus, have been in wide circulation ever since they were published. "Stanly," Thomas Stanley (1625-1678) a classical scholar, editor and translator of Classical, Italian and Spanish poets, also an original author; his "History of Philosophy," mostly biographical, issued in four volumes (1655-1662) was long the standard work on the subject. "Lloyd," David Lloyd (1635-1692) published the "Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation," 1665 and 1670. "Clark," Samuel Clarke (1559-1683), published poems, tracts, and numerous biographies, among them, "Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Latter Age" (1683), which is probably the work Penn refers to. "Winstanley," William Winstanley (1628(?) - 1690); "England's Worthies; Select Lives of Eminent Persons of the English Nation, from Constantine the Great to these times," 1660, rev. ed., 1684, "R. B." Robert or Richard Burton," really Nathaniel Crouch (1632(?) - 1725(?)). Crouch was a bookseller, a remarkable man who assumed the name of Burton as a pseudonym, and under it published some 44 works, many of them relating to the marvellous, or on out-of-the-way subjects. Penn refers to his "Wars in England, Scotland and Ireland," 1625-1660 reissued in 1681 with additions, and to "Wonderful Curiosities, Rarities and Wonders in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1682," reprinted in 1687 along with "Surprising Miracles of Nature and Art."

your welfare in the Lord I wish and am affectionately Thy Cordial friend

W. P.

My dear love salutes friends and "J. Gr." [John Gratton]* especially.

My indisposition with the toothache obliges me to use an other hand. Farewell.

I forgot Law Books, as the Statutes at Large and abridged—Doctors and Students,† Horn's Mirror of Justice, Cook's Institutes, the Compleat Justice, Sheriff, Constable & Clark, and of Wills, Godolphin, Justinians Institutes is an excellent book also.

NOTE.—Many of the books recommended by Penn to John Rodes are still in the library at Barlbrough, and John did not forget to inscribe his name in all of them, but not alas, the "year and cost." [Editor of the "Quaker Post-Bag."]

*John Gratton (1641 or 42-1711), a prominent minister among Friends, who travelled extensively. He lived at Monyash in Derbyshire not far from Sir John Rodes. One of Penn's letters in this collection is addressed to him. Penn's letter implies that John Gratton had thought it right to reprove him for something, apparently for not writing to him.

†"Doctors and Students," "Doctor and Student; or Dialogues between a Doctor of Divinity and a Student in the Laws of England concerning the Grounds of those Laws. By Christopher Saint-German" (1460(?)-1540). London, 1523 (Latin), 1531 (English). Reprinted many times. A popular book until Blackstone was published. A fine edition, annotated, was published in Cincinnati, 1874. "Horn's Mirror of Justice," Andrew Horn (d. 1328) was the author or editor of "La Somme appellé Mirroir des Justices, vel Speculum Justicionum" translated into English as "The Mirror of Justice" by William Hughes, 1646, and several later editions; it is a compilation of laws and legal methods.

"Cook's Institutes," this is Sir Edward Coke's (1552-1634) great work so well known as "Coke on Littleton," or "Institutes of the Law of England." Part I was issued in 1628. The work has been a legal classic ever since. Coke was often spelled and pronounced as Cook. Sir Thomas Littleton (1402-1481) wrote his book on "Tenures," about 1481; it is this which Coke made the basis of his work. "The Compleat Justice, Sheriff, Constable and Clark [clerk]." The author and compiler of this work was Richard Chamberlaine (?); the exact title is, "The Complete Justice; being a compendium and exact Collection of all such Statutes and Authors as anyway concerne a Jus-

NUMBER OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA, 1845.

[The following brief paper is taken from "The Friend, (London), Seventh month, 1845. Vol. 1, p. 142. EDITOR.]

The following statements are made upon good authority; many of them are the result of a careful investigation of the members in each particular meeting. The total number of Friends in America appears to be about 80,000. They are distributed as follows:

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| 1. The Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, etc., commonly called Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, contains 86 particular meetings and about | 8,686 | members |
| 2. The Yearly Meeting of Virginia* contains eleven meetings, and about | 331 | do |
| 3. The Yearly Meeting of New York, which includes Canada, contains about | 11,000 | do |
| 4. The Yearly Meeting of New England contains 103 meetings, and about | 8,021 | do |
| 5. The Yearly Meeting of Ohio about | 18,000 | do |

tice of the Peace, together with a proper Charge to be given at the Quarter Sessions. 1681." "Godolphin," John Godolphin (1617-1678), "The Orphan's Legacy or a Testamentary Abridgement; Executors, Wills and Legacies. 1674" and many subsequent editions. Justinian's Institutes. Of this great ancient compilation of Roman Law, there were several editions current in Penn's day.

*We understand that this Yearly Meeting is to be laid down, and a Six Months Meeting constituted in its place, belonging to the Yearly Meeting of Baltimore. This was resolved upon at a Conference of Committees from several neighboring Yearly Meetings with Friends of Virginia.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—This plan was carried out in 1845. The depletion in the membership of Virginia Yearly Meeting was chiefly owing to the existence of slavery in Virginia, making free labor unremunerative, and the position of non-slaveholders almost unbearable. See S. B. Weeks, "Southern Quakers and Slavery, Baltimore, 1896;" A. C. and R. H. Thomas, "History of the Friends in America," 4th ed., 1905, pp. 191, 192. [Editor of THE BULLETIN.]

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|----|----|---|--------|----|
| 6. | do | Indiana do | 30,000 | do |
| 7. | do | Maryland, otherwise | | |
| | | Baltimore Yearly Meeting, contains twelve | | |
| | | meetings and about | 562 | do |
| 8. | | The Yearly Meeting of North and South | | |
| | | Carolina about | 4,500 | do |

N. B. There are about 800 Friends in the new state of Michigan, who belong to the Yearly Meeting of New York, though 1000 miles distant. Of late years some Friends have settled beyond the Mississippi in the district of Iowa, where they amounted, some time ago, to 110 families; these belong to Indiana Yearly Meeting.

The number of Hicksites in the United States, is thought to be about 23,000.

DINIDOCK, TINICUM, OR TINECONK.

In the Bi-cent. edition of George Fox's Journal (1891) and in the reprint (1901), it is stated (vol. 2, p. 177) that George Fox on his way from New York to the South crossed the Delaware at "Upper Tinicum Island." In all previous editions the island is called "Upper Dinidock." No island answers to either name. The context in the Journal, and geographical conditions, alike make Tinicum near Chester, Pa., impossible. Benj. Ferris, in his "Original Settlements on the Delaware" (Wilmington, 1846), gives what seems to be the true solution. He says, "The name of the island was called Matineconk or Tiniconk, which G. Fox, by a slight mistake, understood to be Dinidock. It was called Upper Tineconk, to distinguish it from the island on which Burlington stands, then called Lower Tineconk" (p. 131, note). The island was on the regular trail from New York to the South. Curiously enough Dankers and Sluyter in their Journal, 1679, note that Matineconk and Tinicum were confused in their day. (Mem. Long Island Hist. Soc., vol. 1, pp. 175, 177, 178.) Additional light is thrown on the matter elsewhere. Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania, 1850, pp. 390, 391, 396, 461; Mem. Hist. Soc. of Pa., vol. 7, p. 140; H. A. Brown, "The Settlement of Burlington," 1878, pp. 41-43.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS ISSUED IN 1910.

A Quaker Post-Bag. Letters to Sir John Rodes of Barlbrough Hall, in the County of Derby, Baronet, and to John Gratton of Monyash, 1693-1742. Selected and Edited by Mrs. Godfrey Locker-Lampson, with a Preface by Augustine Birrell. With Illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, etc., 1910. 8vo. \$2.50 net.

This is the most attractive book relating to Friends that has been published in a long while, and it is to be regretted that its cost will to some extent restrict its circulation.

It is a collection of letters addressed to Sir John Rodes (Rhodes in Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books), who was one of the few persons of the so-called upper class who embraced Quakerism in the early days. These letters have remained in Barlbrough Hall, where they were received, "and now," says the editor, "in response to many requests for the publication of the Penn letters, this little work has been issued." How Sir John became "convinced" we are not told, and the most we know about him is in Thomas Story's Journal (p. 465, folio edition of 1747), who writes in 1714, "I went that evening to Balber Hall to Sir John Rodes, and William Thompson* with me, where I was kindly received by him, and by the old lady, his mother. There I stayed several days, and had good conversation with them, being very open-minded and courteous, and of good understanding in the Things of God. He was convinced when young and held his integrity through many temptations. But his circumstances differing from most among us in some respects, he never married, having a great aversion to all that was wanton, light or vain, and being of nice sentiments both as to virtue, temper, education and Parts, all these (as I suppose) he has not found to concur so perfectly in any one agreeable person, as both to please the Delicacy of his own judgment, and suit the liking of his Friends. . . . He stands Steady and True, preferring the simplicity of Truth and the enjoyment of it before all other things."† Sir John Rodes died unmarried in 1743, age about seventy-six (1667(?) - 1743). He must have been a very attractive man.

The Collection consists of five letters of William Penn; sixteen of Martha Rodes to her son, Sir John; thirty-one of Henry Gouldney; twenty-eight of John Tomkins; and two of Silvanus Bevan. All of these are of unusual interest in that they give a side of life too often absent from published correspondence—that of everyday happenings, feelings,

* William Thompson of Nottingham, a schoolmaster, author of several books on Education, etc.

† Thomas Story records two other visits to Sir John Rodes, one in 1696, and one in 1723, Journal of Thomas Story, fol. ed., 1747, pp. 90, 684.

aspirations and activities. It would not be an exaggeration to say that one can learn more of the real life of the day from these few letters than in almost all other volumes of early Quaker correspondence put together. Those treat almost wholly of the religious side, this volume of all sides. Though nothing is said regarding it, it is clear that Sir John Rodes's mother, Martha Rodes, was a Friend, and independently of other considerations, it is not strange that her son, by her excellencies and beauty of character, felt no need for entering into matrimony—perhaps was rendered too fastidious in his taste. Certainly her letters are most charming. What a spirit of true motherhood and self-effacement breathes through this: "I desire thee to gitt a hamsome stuf sute and A good wascote. Thou knows I did not like the last stuf sute, therefore rem^{br} and let it not be like that, but something more refined and finer. I wish, that riding coate of mine, the price I mean, had been bestowed of Clothes for thee. As for me, its littel matter what I wear. I can but take it kindly thou took such care for me, and it is a Demonstration of thy Love to me—Yet I should have certainly been satisfied of thy unfained Love to me, without that chargable present. I cannot help confessing, how sweet and pretious thy love to me is, more than the Gold of Opher," (page 25). The most interesting of the Penn Letters is the first, which is reproduced elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN. The letters of Henry Gouldney, and John Tomkins, throw much light on the Quaker politics and inside history of the day. George Keith—and his case is frequently mentioned, as well as other matters of interest, such as the bill allowing Friends to affirm. Henry Gouldney, at whose house George Fox died, gives a brief but graphic account of George Fox's last illness. In fact, nearly every important event in Quaker history between 1693 and 1743 is referred to in greater or less measure.*

The illustrations are a beautiful reproduction of a miniature of Sir John Rodes, of a portrait of his mother, two views of Barlbrough Hall, and some facsimiles. The original spelling in the letters is preserved. The one thing to be regretted is that the editor did not have some one thoroughly familiar with Quaker history, such as the editor of the

* Henry Gouldney was a merchant of White-Hart-Court, Gracechurch St., London. He was not a very well-educated man, as is evident from his letters, but was a man of excellent judgment. Smith credits him with two pamphlets, 1694, 1699. He died in 1725, aged 68.

John Tomkins of London, was a well-educated man, and was the originator of that well-known collection of Quaker Biography and Anecdote, "Piety Promoted." He is responsible for the first three parts or volumes. He was also author of two or three other works. He died in 1706, age about 43 years.

Silvanus Bevan married a niece of Sir John Rodes. He was a scientific man and contributed one or more papers to "Philosophical Transactions." He is perhaps best known now by his miniature ivory bust of William Penn, which is probably the most authentic likeness of Penn. A cast is in the Haverford College Library.

Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, to read the proofs. Had she done so, many slips would have been avoided, and some needed explanatory notes added.

Swarthmore Lecture. The Communion of Life, by Joan Mary Fry. Headley Brothers, London, 1910. 1 s. net.

The Swarthmore Lectures were established by the Woodbrooke Extension Committee, (1) "to interpret further to the members of the Society of Friends their Message and Mission; and (2) to bring before the public the spirit, the aims and the fundamental principles of the Friends." Established in 1907, the first lecture was given by Rufus M. Jones at Birmingham in 1908, the second by William C. Braithwaite in London in 1909. The one here noted was given in London on the evening preceding the Yearly Meeting, 1910. This little volume is a clear and forcible presentation of the belief that religion and daily life are intimately connected, that "the spiritual and material spheres are not divided, but are as the concave and convex sides of one whole, and that the one is found in and through the other. It emphasizes the fact the church is a body of common men and women, that worship is a part of living and that the whole of life is sacramental and incarnational."

Autobiography of Allen Jay. Philadelphia, The John C. Winston Co., 1910, \$1.50 net.

This interesting and valuable book has been so widely read, as it appeared in the *American Friend*, that it is only needful to chronicle its publication, and call attention to its value as a record of one who took an important part in making the history of modern Quakerism.

Dorothy Payne: Quakeress, A Side-light upon the Career of "Dolly" Madison, by Ella Kent Barnard. Philadelphia, Ferris & Leach, 1909. \$1.00.

This little volume came too late for notice in the last number of the BULLETIN. It is not generally known that "Dolly" Madison, wife of James Madison, fourth President of the United States, was by birth and upbringing a Friend. She was disowned, Twelfth month 20, 1794, by the Monthly Meeting of Friends for Philadelphia, for her marriage with James Madison, a non-member. The author has ransacked all sources of information and has produced an exceedingly pleasant and readable volume. Twenty-seven illustrations which really illustrate, and a full index add much.

Elizabeth Fry, by Georgina King Lewis. London, Headley Brothers, 1910. Presentation Edition with a Photogravure Portrait after Richmond, 3s. 6d. net. Popular Edition, 1s. 6d. net.

This is probably the best short life of Elizabeth Fry. Admirably written from a sympathetic point of view, it is to be highly commended. Nowhere can be found a better picture of the personality and work of this distinguished woman.

"*Quaker Biographies*," Vol. IV. For Sale at Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa., 1910. 16mo. 256 pp., price 75 cents.

The first three volumes were noticed in the BULLETIN, vol. 3, p. 145. These sketches are of the same character as in the preceding volumes. They do not profess to be more than compilations for the most part, but it is to be regretted that the series is not more attractively presented. Justice is scarcely done to Nicholas Waln. Surely more than ten pages are due to a man of his character and influence, and certainly more anecdotes concerning him could have been collected.

Twenty illustrations add much to the volume. They are, with few exceptions, well chosen. That of Carr-End does not by any means do justice to the original, and the view of North Meeting House, which was built after Rebecca Jones's death, seems inappropriate. The subjects of the sketches are Rebecca Jones, The Fothergills, Elizabeth Fry, Nicholas Waln, Daniel Wheeler, Stephen Grellet.

Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and the Eastern Parts of Maryland. Philadelphia: For Sale at Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch Street, 1910. 8vo, pp. 193, price 50 cents.

This is the first extensive revision of the Philadelphia Discipline for for many years. Some forty-five or fifty paragraphs seem to have been added to, or in some way modified in 1910, and changes and modifications made from time to time since the last revision have been incorporated so far as approved, and, it is stated, "It has seemed best to allow many paragraphs to stand unaltered. Some matter has been omitted, as having in measure lost its applicability to the present conditions of our membership." "A topical arrangement of chapters has been adopted instead of the alphabetical arrangement." From a purely historical point of view an interesting feature is the retention of distinct Women's Meetings. With the exception of some of the smaller bodies, and Philadelphia, all other Yearly Meetings of "Orthodox" Friends make no distinction. The Discipline of those Meetings belonging to the Five Years Meeting says, "There are no distinctions in the rights, privileges or responsibilities of the members because of sex." ("Constitution and Discipline," Part I, chap. 1, section 2.) By a Minute of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1910, the Revised Discipline went into effect Seventh month 1, 1910. "Extracts from the Minutes," etc., 1910, p. 7.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society.

The number for Twelfth Month, 1910, like its predecessors, is full of valuable historical matter, but is scarcely as interesting as sometimes. The leading article, "Friends and the Castle of Chambord," containing the "documents (1792-1793) drawn from the public archives at Blois, relating to the proposals made by certain Friends to establish schools of

industry in the Castle of Chambord," is a record of an episode in the history of Friends hitherto almost unknown. It is referred to in Henry James's "Little Tour in France." Boston, 1885, p. 40. Albert G. Linney gives an interesting sketch of a visit to Chambord in 1910. The documents are given in the original French and take 26 pp. of the Journal. The editor's contribution, "Friends in Current Literature," as usual, is full of information. Several brief articles complete the number.

Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Edition, 1910.

The first fourteen volumes of this great work have just been issued. One naturally looks for those articles relating to Friends. That on the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS is by A. Neave Brayshaw, whom readers of the BULLETIN will recollect as accompanying John Wilhelm Rowntree on his first visit to America in 1899. The writer has been very successful in compressing the history of Quakerism into small compass. The main points are well brought out. In the history of modern Quakerism, however, the article is too obviously intended for British readers. Taking into consideration the fact that there are about four times as many Friends in America as elsewhere in the world, more details relating to American Friends should have been given. A few lines would have sufficed to give the names of the yearly meetings, geographical position, foreign mission work, educational institutions and the like. This lack is all the more to be regretted, as the publishers expect a larger sale of the encyclopædia in America than in Great Britain, as was the case with the ninth and tenth editions.

The article on *George Fox*, also by A. N. Brayshaw, though much better than that in the ninth edition, is somewhat disappointing. Some of the material in the previous edition has been made use of, and this may account for a lack of warmth. The notice of *Robert Barclay* is unsigned, and is so brief as to call for little comment. As much, doubtless, is given, as the allotted room would permit.

There are brief but appreciative notices of the *Fox*, *Fry*, and *Gurney*, families, though, as might be expected, little is said on the religious side. *Elizabeth Fry* has, in most respects, full justice done to her in a separate article. But the notice in the ninth edition has been largely drawn upon. That notice was evidently prepared by a churchman, and we regret that the editor of the eleventh edition should have reprinted such statements as, "An earnest and enthusiastic, though never a fanatical, Friend." Were her contemporary Friends ever "fanatical?" Why should *Friend* be put in quotation marks? Would the writer have put *Church of England* in quotation marks? Again, "In 1821 she was acknowledged by her co-religionists as a 'minister.'" Why should *minister* be put in quotation marks? Would the author have spoken of his fellow members of the Church of England as "co-religionists?" These scarcely veiled slurs should have been cancelled. If he was mentioned at all, as he is among

the Gurney family, *Joseph John Gurney* should have received a single line indicating the prominent position he occupied in the Society of Friends, or at least there should have been a cross reference to FRIENDS. To say he was "a banker and philanthropist" is not enough. *Elias Hicks* is given a fair notice, though we should question one or two of the statements made. On the whole, however, Friends should be fairly well satisfied thus far.

"Progress in London and the Home Counties." A Report Prepared by the Central Standing Committee for Presentation to a Special Session of London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting, to be held at Devonshire House, 7th February, 1911, at 6 p.m. London: 136 Bishopsgate, E. C. January, 1911.

The above is a long title for a pamphlet of 13 pages. But the little pamphlet has much of historic interest. It is an example of a committee printing beforehand the report which is expected to be presented to a future meeting, thus not only allowing those interested, but the whole meeting to become well acquainted with the subject to be considered. This method has recently been adopted by London, and other Yearly Meetings, and there is much in it to commend.

The Report is a review of the condition of the important London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting after ten years (1900-1910). It is an encouraging feature of the report that the committee are able to call it "Progress." They say, "At the close of 1899 the Quarterly Meeting, comprising six Monthly Meetings, contained 31 Meetings with a membership of 2,677; at the present time there are 46 Meetings and a membership at the end of 1909 of 3,038. . . . During the same period the number of associate members and registered attenders at our Meetings has increased from 651 to 801. Statistics show that this increase in membership is entirely due to the admission of new members by conviction."

The Report goes into details showing the city (proper) Meetings have been losing, while suburban Meetings have been gaining. Full statistics are given. Two maps are appended, the one "Showing the Distribution of Friends in London 1910," giving the position of the various Meetings; the other, "Showing the position of Friends' Meetings for Worship in the South Eastern Counties. Also the Boundaries of Quarterly and Monthly Meetings within the same area 1910-11." The Report is well worthy of careful study.

NOTES AND QUERIES

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL ON THE FRIENDS.—“One thing in the strange history of the Quakers stands out in the clearest relief. Despite their bold denial of all the Sacraments and of any kind of formal Priesthood, or ministry, denials which, in the first instance, brought down upon their covered heads the whole forces of all the hatreds of a Christendom for once united, they nevertheless were the first, and for a long, long time the only, Nonconformists to obtain the protection of the law. This they won, not by political strife, but by a sublime indifference to consequences, legal or social. Unable to swear, they found the Courts closed against them, when in pursuit of their civil remedies. They submitted in silence, and were the more careful not to make bad debts. Marriage was only to be had within the walls of the Establishment. All other Nonconformists, wishing to wed, went to Church, at least once in their lives, fearing bastardy for their offspring. The Quakers feared nothing, did not go to Church, kept their own Registers, and made it a matter of religion never to die intestate.* This attitude of sublime indifference was soon found intolerable. In 1696 Quak-

ers were allowed to affirm in Courts of Justice, and in 1754 their marriages outside the walls of either Church or Chapel were recognized. No such consideration was shown to more orthodox Nonconformists for a century or so. Quaker history stands alone in its indomitable success. If it is finished it is a pity.”

Preface to “A Quaker Post-Bag,” 1910.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—“Where as we the Subscribers were appointed a Com^{te} at our Monthly Meeting To point out a method to Regulate that Difficulty that we have Long Laboured under to know who are the Proper members there of according to the Rules of Discipline—And accordingly We Having met together and Consulted the same Do Report as followeth, That all such friends as are approved of as Ministers Elders Overseers or Visitors be looked upon and approved as members Also them who have at any time been appointed Representatives by said Meeting To attend any other meeting, And all Such who Have Brought Certificates from any other Monthly Meeting of Friends Owning them as members there of, Except any of the afore said Have gone into any Disorderly act afterwards and

* Had they died without a will, their children might not have inherited, being, in the eye of the existing law, illegitimate.—[Editor].

have not made satisfaction for the same, And That these and all others who look upon themselves to be members and are approved of as such by said Meeting who have Children under their care Endeavour as soon as may be to have their Births put upon Record and any friend or friends who Looketh upon him her or themselves to be members and are approved of as such by said meeting may if they Desire the same have their Names Entered also, And Those who may Claim a Right of Membership by Birth or Otherwise and Have so walked as they are not in full unity by Reason of their misconduct shall make Suitable Satisfaction to said meeting before They are approved of as members, And it is our opinion that the Overseers or visiters, who they think may Claim a Right as aforesaid and Labour with them as they shall find it on their minds In order for their return, And where any Person shall apply to the Clerk to have his or their names or Childrens put upon Record and the Clerk is in Doubt about their being members that then He apply to said meeting for advise.

Dated in Smithfield [Rhode Island] the 30th of the 5th month 1765.

Daniel Southwick
Tho Lapham
Adam Harkness
Jabes Wing
Joshua Lapham
Thomas Steere
John Smith

From the Ms. Records Smithfield Monthly Meeting, Rhode Island.

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SLAUGHTER OF SEALS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—[The following extracts are taken from the Ms. Journal of Christopher Almy of Newport, R. I., who went on a whaling and sealing voyage 1797-1799. The writer was about 26. The ship "Barclay" sailed from New Bedford "on 3rd day, the 29th of the 8th mo., 1797." The Captain and several of the crew, including the writer of the journal, were Friends; the owner was the well-known William Rotch (see BULLETIN, Vol. I, No. 2). The ship itself was doubtless named after Robert Barclay]:

"12th day of the 3rd mo., 1798. A fair wind all these 24 hours, but a small breaze calm some part of the day yesterday in the afternoon made the Island of Junfernandus, this an inhabited [—] by the spanyards Lyes in Latt 34 being about 23 Leges [Leagues] from the Island we are A going A sealing on this the Island where Robinson Cruso was on there is his Cave as they tell me now to be seen. "the 13th of the 3rd month, 1798. Made the Island of Mercifur [Mas-a-fuera] Landed there seven of us A sealing this day and saw the greatest sight that ever I saw in my Life the seals are as thick as the stones I believe that there is 1000 within 50 rods this Island is very mountain-

ous there is places that the mountains are Two Miles almost right up and down."

These seven men were left on the island while the "Barclay" cruised in search of whales. Before leaving, the ship's carpenter built them a rough house or hut for shelter. The men remained for about eight months, during which time they were successful in attaining their object, though one of their company was seriously ill part of the time. On "the 29th of the 9th month 1798" the record is made: "Total of sealskins and goat skins: seal-skins, 20,000, goats 246." This would make an average of 2,500 seals slaughtered in a month by this one party. The diary shows that at least one other party from another vessel was on the island at the same time whose success was about equal. So in that one season about 40,000 seals were killed on this island alone. One or two other extracts may be given: "19th 1st month 1799 Latt 38.48 twenty three alibattresses caught this day with hook & Line, one measured 13 feet." "6th of 2nd month 1799 the wind and weather as yesterday [very rough], but our ship is a true Quaker for she is as stiff as a tre. Latt. 57.41" [off Cape Horn]. "28th of 3rd month 1799. fine brease and A Large swell we have been starting provisions out of Casks to have them coopered to put oil in if we are Lucky enough to get it for we are or at least some of us very earnest to get our Lower hole full for that

is what they call a full ship but that is not the meterial point with me but I think I shall say peace be with Whaling after this voyage." The ship and its cargo reached New Bedford in safety in the autumn of 1799. The Diarist never went to sea again.

ROB ROY'S GREAT-GRAND SON.
—There has recently come into the possession of the writer, a volume of Wilson Armistead's "Select Miscellanies" [a collection of "Anecdotes chiefly illustrative of the History of Friends," 6 Vols., London, 1851.] bearing on the inside cover the printed plate of "H. Macgregor." This was Hector Macgregor, a great-grandson of the celebrated Scottish chieftain, Rob Roy, the hero of Scott's novel of the same name, and the subject of Wordsworth's poem, besides being the hero in many a Scottish tale. His full name was Rob Roy Macgregor (1671-1734). Hector Macgregor was convinced of Friends' principles, probably through the preaching of Lydia Ann Barclay, and remained a consistent Friend all his life. He was a new and second-hand bookseller in Dundee, Scotland. He died not many years ago, and the business is still carried on under the name of "Mrs. E. Macgregor."

VAGARIES IN SPELLING—In further illustration of this subject [See BULLETIN Vol. 2, p. 81.] are some variations of the name

Woonsocket, R. I., which were encountered recently by the writer in searching old Records in Rhode Island. This name was originally that of one of the highest hills in the State; then the name was also given to falls in the Blackstone River two or three miles from the hill, and now is the name of the flourishing manufacturing city of 40,000 inhabitants which has grown up around the falls. No one of these forms, it will be noticed, agrees with the present form: 1678, Wainsoikett; 1680, Wainsocitt; 1682, Wansaukett, and on the next line, Wansaukutt; 1704, Wansocut; 1707, WanSokut; WanSokutt (twice); 1710, WanSoquett. Early Records of the Town of Providence, Vols. 5, 8, 14, 15, 20, Indexes. To the above may be added the spellings given in the Book of Meetings 1772, noticed on page 28 of this number of the BULLETIN—"Unsocket," "Wonsoket."

FRIENDS AND OATHS IN RHODE ISLAND, 1675.—"Oaths in Rhode Island Colony the Inhabitants, unless they please, take not any, (Quakers there, as in England, peremptorily refuse them) only an Engagement (upon ye penalty of Perjury) to performe such Office, or to give true Testimony, wch if they doe not, they suffer as if for false swearing. The forme of ye Engagement is this, You here promise to speak ye truth, or justly to performe

such office, upon ye penalty of Perjury. The Oath of Allegiance is to ye effect of yt taken ordinarily in England, to be loyal and obed^t to ye Kings Maty [Majesty] but ye Oath of Supremacy, as to ye Kings being head of ye Church differs frō yt wch is administered in England.

Transcript from original in British Public Record Office, Colonial Papers xxxiv., No. 66. Calendar State Papers, America and West Indies, 1675-76, No. 543.

BARCLAY'S APOLOGY IN 1700.—"The Subscriptions for the Apollogy amounted to near 7000, and we have agreed to have them well don, and in Calve for 2/100 [?], That being finished, we made a proposall to print it in ye french tongue, and that for its name would scarcely be boarne, some pleading that the Lattin was the more universal Language. But by the helpe of thy brother and some others that were more proper Judges, we gained the point, that we should have another translation, wch, altho, at one time, I did almost dispend of obtaining, yet, many Countrey friends was so concerned to proppagate the worke that they carried it by the force of truth, that tis now agreed 1500 be printed, after tis well translated into french." Henry Gouldney to Sir John Rhodes, London the 28th ³/_{mo.} 1700. "Quaker Post-Bag," pp. 79, 80. See p. 45 ante.

[This must have been what is called by Joseph Smith "the 4th edition," published in 1701 by T. Sowle. The French translation was also published by T. Sowle, in 1702. Smith says: "This is the first French edition. Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings 12th of 9th mo., 1700. 'Agreed with Jacob Rouffignac to translate Barclay's Apology into French at 7, 6d per sheet, and to do 6 sheets per month. 3rd mo, 23rd, 1701.—1500 Barclay's Apology in French agreed to be printed at 3s per quire." A better translation by E. P. Bridel was issued in 1797.—Ed.]

FRIENDS IN PARLIAMENT.—To the new British Parliament, the elections for which closed in Twelfth month last, 1910, nine Friends have been elected, eight are Liberals, and one Conservative. Joseph Allen Baker and Arnold S. Rowntree, both well known in the eastern states, are among those re-elected. T. Edmund Harvey, Warden of Toynbee Hall, and author of "The Early Friends," so familiar to Quaker Round Tables, was re-elected for West Leeds, with one of the largest majorities (4270) received, being 955 more than that given him in 1st month, 1910.

INDEXES IN QUAKER BOOKS.—Students should beware of trusting too much to the indexes in the early Friends' works. Besse's Sufferings is fully and carefully indexed, but the same cannot be

said of some other valuable works. In Story's Journal, for instance, the most important reference to Sir John Rodes, noted elsewhere in this number, is not mentioned. Fox's Journal, Barclay's Apology and some other works have been furnished with full modern indexes.

FRIENDS MEETINGS IN HOLLAND AND NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, 1686.—"Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Harlem, Alkmaar, and the meetings in the province of Friesland, and at Embden, Fredericstadt, and Hamburgh." "Dantzick." . . . "The meeting of friends in the Palatinate is in effect dissolved by reason that most of the friends of that place have removed themselves from thence to Pennsylvania, and the rest, save one ancient man, are ready, as we hear, to come away this summer, and go to the place aforesaid. The meeting that was at Creselt is brought into the same condition." From letter of John Claus on "behalf of the Quarterly Meeting held at Amsterdam, to the Yearly Meeting in London." W. Alexander, "Collectitia," York, 1824, pp. 253-257.

PHILADELPHIA IN 1831.—"By and by, we shall come to Elizabethtown, and afterwards we shall reach Princeton; at this place there is a good college; finally we shall reach Trenton, which is situated on the river Delaware. Here we shall take a

steamboat and go down that river. This part of our journey will be delightful; the river itself is broad and its banks are very beautiful. We shall pass several pleasant villages, some on one side and some on the other. At length we shall reach Philadelphia.

This city is not so large as New York, but it is even more pleasing. The streets are all straight, neat, and clean, and many of the buildings are very handsome. The United States Bank* is, probably, the most beautiful building in the country.

We shall see a great many people in Philadelphia called Quakers; the men wear broad brimmed hats, and the women wear white or dove colored bonnets; yet the women are very pretty, and the men are very honest, and so I think you will like the Quakers very much." Peter Parley, [Samuel G. Goodrich], "The Child's Own Book of American Geography, Boston. Published by Carter & Hendee, 1832," p. 35.

JEAN DE MARSILLAC. — In "Quaker Biographies," vol. iii, Philadelphia, 1909, pp. 182, 183, the following passage occurs, referring to Jean de Marsillac: "In 1798 a Frenchman named John De Marsalac [sic] came to this country. He soon began to attend Friends' meetings, became plain in dress, and asked 'o be received into membership. . .

The Frenchman preached frequently in meeting, and was well thought of and received in all places as a good Friend, but in 1806 he returned to France, and when the ship was a little way out to sea he threw off his plain coat, and taking up a fiddle began to play, and danced about singing: 'I'm done with the Quakers, I'm done with the Quakers.' This John De Marsalac was afterwards supposed to be a man in the service of Napoleon, sent to spy out things of interest to the French," etc. What is the foundation for these statements and others somewhat similar?

EARLY MEETING PLACE FOR FRIENDS IN BOSTON.—In 1662, when Elizabeth Hooton, the first woman Friend, and first Quakress minister, came on her second visit to Boston, bringing her young daughter with her, she states, one strong inducement for this journey of "Three Thousand Miles from her Native Country through the Straights and inconveniences of the Seas," was, "To buy a House for herself to Live in, Friends to Meet in, and Grounds for them to bury their dead in." ["G. Bishop, New England Judged, London 1703," p. 411.]. Anticipating possible opposition, her social standing and "sufficiency of means" were such, that she readily procured a license from King Charles II. giving her permission to make purchases of property, and live in any of his

* Now the United States Custom House, Chestnut Street.

Plantations. (Besse's Sufferings, London, 1753, vol. 2, pp. 228-231; Sewel's History, London, 1722, p. 377.)

Four times she appeared at Court for this purpose, stating her object, and showing each time her license from the King, and four times she was bluntly refused any privilege of purchase. Six or seven years after her disappointing attempt to thus provide for Friends, (probably in 1668 or '69,) her son Samuel Hooton came to America, and "After much travell and hardshippe and great deliverances by sea was brought to Boston." From an ancient manuscript written by him and still preserved in Devonshire House, London, and first copied and published by Joseph Smith in the Philadelphia Friend, (1904, vol. 77, p. 204,) we find this generous design of his mother was partially at least, carried out by him. His account of the condition he found Friends in, is quite pathetic, and he quaintly writes his coming "was ye nick of time." "Anabaptists were gotten up to have great meetings in Boston, and got the preheminance of what friends had travelled for, and friends no place in Boston to meet in, neither did any regard. Therefore I saw this to be a great evill. Then was I made to take a house in Boston, for the sake of such as had suffered, *for friends to meet in:* and with as much tenderness of heart towards them, as I could to gather them together againe;

for friends were much scattered and shattered in their mindes one against another, in so much that their first love was cooled." . . . I laboured amongst them so their first love might spring againe, "So wee had meetings in Boston." At one of these he says, "many friends were there from all meetings." Those in attendance were taken to the governor's house, which he later adds, "was almost filled with the towns people." While there he told them, "I had an old mother who was here amongst you, and bore many of your stripes and much cruelty at your hands, and when shee came at the first I was against her coming, and now shee is returned. Is shee returned, saith Bellingham? yea, I said, shee is safe returned." (This must have been in Governor Bellingham's second term, 1665-1673).

Thomas Salthouse, in a letter to Margaret Fell, dated London, 19th of Third Mo. (5th mo.) 1668, mentions that one Samuel, son of old Elizabeth Hooton, is at that time with several others named, laboring in the work of the ministry in London, and that on the previous first-day they had a very large and precious meeting. (Letters of Early Friends, London, 1841, p. 165.) It seems quite possible this letter was written, just before Samuel Hooton embarked for America, or just after his return. In 1670 he was evidently in England with another interesting concern on his mind.

In the *Journal of the Friend's Historical Society*, London, 1908, vol. 5, p. 12, taken from the first "Quarterly Meeting Minute Book" in the custody of Friends at Nottingham, is a copy of the following letter from Elizabeth Hooton, giving her consent to the marriage of her son, Samuel, with Elizabeth Smedley, 26 x., 1670:—

"This doe I certify concentering [concerning] my sonne Samuel, I spake to Geo. Fox about taking the young woman to wife, & he asked me what she was, & I told him as near as I could of her behaviour, & he bade me let him take her, & soe that makes me willing he should take her to wife. ELIZABETH HOOTON."

From the ancient manuscript first quoted, we get a very pleasing impression of Samuel Hooton's gentle loving spirit. It would be interesting to know whether this house taken by him in Boston for Friends to meet in at such an early date was merely a temporary arrangement, or was continued as a meeting place after his return to England.

M. G. Swift.

MEETINGS OF FRIENDS IN BOSTON.—In continuation of the above note, the following is appropriate: "4th day of May, 1664." "He [Edward Wharton] and George Preston, and Wenlock Christison came from thence [Salem] to Boston, where they

had a good Meeting of Friends." "He [Edward Rawson, the Commissioner] told Edward, *That if he would promise the Governour, to come no more to the Quakers Meeting in Boston, then it was likely the Governour would let him have his liberty. Not for all the world* (reply'd Edward). ("Bishop, New England Judged, London, 1703," pp. 433, 437.)

These sentences rather imply that there was a regular meeting held at the house of Edward Wharton [or Wanton]. This house was probably on Brattle St., and this is supposed to be the first regular Meeting in Boston. "It appears that the project of a meeting-house in Boston was discussed as early as 12th month [February] 1690. "A house was built in 1694-95." See "Historical Accounts of the Various Meeting-Houses in Boston, Boston, 1874." This pamphlet was published by the New England Yearly Meeting.

A. C. T.

THE FIRST QUAKER IN AMERICA.—I have become convinced that the first Quaker in the American Colonies was Richard Smith. It is well known to almost every body that when the eight "Publishers of Truth" came to Boston in 1656 they picked up in New Amsterdam on their way a certain Richard Smith. Bowden in his "History of Friends in America" (vol. I, p. 308 ff.) says that this was the famous trader of that name who, in 1641, "erected a house of

trade and entertainment" in the Narragansett country. The difficulty with this position is that that Richard Smith never became a Friend and did many things vastly inconsistent with Quaker testimonies. I have, therefore, hunted long to find out who this Quaker Richard Smith really was.

I have found the following facts: Our Richard Smith lived in Southampton, Long Island, and visited England in 1654, where he became a Friend, apparently through the influence of William Dewsbury. This fact comes out in Francis Ellington's Tract—"A True Discovery of the Ground of the Imprisonment of Francis Ellington, etc., London, 1655," p. 2. Soon after, he returned to America, that is to say some time before the visit of Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, and before the visit of Elizabeth Harris.

The sixth day of October, 1656, this Richard Smith was arrested in his home town and charged with being one of those "emissaries of Satan called Quakers." He was sentenced to be banished for his fidelity to the Quaker testimonies, as the following record of the town of Southampton indicates:

"It is ordered by the general Court that Richard Smith for his unreverend carriage towards the Magistrates contrary to the

order was adjudged to be banished out of the towne, and hee is to have a weekes liberty to prepare himself to depart and if at any time he be found after this limited week within the town or the bounds hereof he shall forfeit twenty shillings. It is ordered by the general court that Richard Smith for his unreverend carriage to the magistrate was judged to pay the sum of 5 pounds to be levied immediately upon the goods and chattels of the said Richard Smith, this present 6th day of October 1656."

Rufus M. Jones.

COMPLETE WORKS OF WILLIAM PENN.—Albert Cook Myers, of Moylan, Pa., the author of "Immigration of Irish Quakers Into Pennsylvania," "Sally Wister's Journal," "Deborah Logan's Courtship," etc., proposes to collect and edit the Complete Works of William Penn, something which has never been done. The large sum needed to carry through such a great undertaking having been nearly subscribed, Albert Cook Myers expects to sail in the present (Third) month for England to prosecute his researches in that country. It is understood to be the editor's intention to print the works *verbatim et literatim*.

ANNUAL MEETING 1911.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was held on the afternoon and evening of Second Month 4th, 1911, at 20 S. Twelfth Street, Philadelphia.

During the afternoon the exhibit of a goodly number of manuscripts, books, pictures, portraits, some pieces of furniture, silverware, and other articles of historical interest loaned by members and their friends for the occasion, proved to be the center of much interest to those present.

The exhibit was arranged in the Committee Room of the Meeting House, where ample provision was made for the smaller articles in glass cases, and most of the pictures and portraits were displayed on the wall.

After some time had been devoted to examination of the exhibit, Lucy B. Roberts presided over an informal meeting, during which interesting descriptions and history of some of the exhibits were given.

Lucy B. Roberts read a manuscript letter written by William Penn soon after the death of his wife, Gulielma Maria Springett Penn; also a letter of Major-General Gist, written from Plymouth Meeting House, Pennsylvania, during the Revolution.

Professor Allen C. Thomas read some selections from letters and manuscripts which he exhibited.

Joshua L. Baily told some interesting incidents in describing the large collections of historical pictures and portraits, which he had loaned, and had especially arranged for the occasion.

Some beautiful pieces of silver, including a cream pitcher presented to James Logan by William Penn, bearing the Logan crest, were described by Rachel Smith Howland.

Some account of "The Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors," by George Fox, Benjamin Furley, and John Stubs, was given by Amelia Mott Gummere.

Richard P. Tatum gave some account of Edward Randolph, (1754-1837), of whom a large oil portrait was on exhibit.

Hannah P. Morris told some incidents relating to the exhibit of some relics from the Morris family.

Francis R. Taylor called attention to Richard Jordan's pocket book, which he carried on his religious visit to the South of France, containing his Passport and his Returning Minute from Friends of Congenies, France, to Friends of Rich Square, North Carolina, signed by Louis Majolier.

The serving of tea to the members and invited guests in the tea room of the Meeting House, was a pleasant social feature of the occasion.

The business meeting was held in the evening with Amelia Mott Gummere presiding, in the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents.

Dr. Edward Raymond Turner, of Bryn Mawr College, gave the address of the evening on "The Attitude of Friends Towards Slavery After the Revolution."

Dr. Turner gave an interesting and concise account of the efforts of Friends in freeing their slaves and their subsequent work of educating and befriending the free negroes. He spoke of the intense hatred of the negro that existed, which frequently led to violence shown to them and to those who sympathized with them, and instanced the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, in Philadelphia, in 1838. He told of the origin of the abolition and anti-slavery societies, with which many Friends were actively associated.

After the address, Joshua L. Bailey and Professor Allen C. Thomas gave some reminiscences relating to Pennsylvania Hall, and the poet Whittier. Francis R. Taylor told something of the work of the Free Produce Association, which was an effort on behalf of Friends and others to supply commodities produced without slave labor.

EXHIBITION OF ARTICLES OF HISTORIC INTEREST.

List of articles exhibited at the Seventh Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, on Second Month 4th, 1911:

(1). Field's Bible (1653), formerly the property of Richard Tapper. (According to family tradition, he had this Bible with him during his imprisonment in South Gate Prison, Exeter, England, in 1683.)

(2). George Fox's Dutch New Testament, carried by him when traveling in Holland in 1678.

(3). Old Bible printed 1696. (Michael Offley, of Duck Creek, Delaware.)

(4). Old Concordance, 1632 (?) folio.

(5). Journal of Jane Fenn, 1727-28-29, while on a religious visit in England and Ireland. (Manuscript.)

(6). William Penn's Letter referring to the death of his wife, Gulielma.

(7). Thomas Lloyd's letter to Philip Ford, 1693.

(8). George Whitehead's letter to Thomas Lloyd, 1691.

(9). Roger Haydock, of Penketh, letter to Phineas Pemberton, 1690.

(10). Phineas Pemberton—Sundry letters. 1691-1694.

(11). John Woolman—Letter to his nephew, 1772.

(12). Sarah (Ellis) Woolman, wife of John Woolman—Letter, 1776. [See p. 30 of this number of the BULLETIN.]

(13). Major-General Gist's letter from Plymouth Meeting House, Pa., during the Revolution.

(14). Marriage certificate of William Corker and Elizabeth Hinton, 1680. Bull and Mouth Meeting, London.

(15). Marriage certificate of Isaac Hornor and Eleanor Bowne, 1718. Flushing, Long Island, N. Y.

(16). Certificates from Philadelphia Meeting of Ministers and Elders, and Concord Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, returning Rose Tebbetts from religious visits to Dover, New England, 1719, 1729.

(17). Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Manuscript Discipline, 1704.

(18). Richard Jordan's Pocket-Book, carried on Religious Visit to the South of France: Contains (a) his Passport to visit Friends in France; (b) Returning Minute of Friends of Congenies, France, to Friends of Rich Square, North Carolina, regarding Richard Jordan, signed by Louis Majolier.

(19). Manumission Papers setting free forty slaves, 1812.

(20). Extracts from Letter of Samuel Thompson to John J. Thompson, Feb. 21st, 1838, from New Orleans, referring to the conditions existing in the United States in relation to slavery. (Copy.)

(21). Paper of Sale of Negress "Milla," from Samuel Thompson to Miss Solidelle Solet, 25th Oct., 1839. (Copy.)

(22). Paper of Ratification of Sale of Negress "Milla," by Richard Charles to Sodille Solet, 5th Dec., 1839. (Copy.)

(23). George Fox, John Stubs, and Benjamin Furley, Battle-Door for Professors in twenty-two languages.

(24). William Penn. Address to Protestants. 1679.

(25). Anonymous. Hole in the Wall. 1828.

(26). Quaker French Grammar. 1795.

(27). Child's Book. 1803.

(28). Tuition bill of Franklin College. 1787.

PORTRAITS, PICTURES, ETC.

(29). Arthur Howell. Framed Silhouette.

(30). Rachel Offley—1791-1834—daughter of Daniel and Ann (Newbold) Offley. Photograph of Silhouette.

(31). Edward Randolph, 1754-1837. Oil portrait.

(32). Joseph John Gurney, portrait painted from memory by Samuel C. Willits (c1838).

(33). Nathan Hunt, the patriarch of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Died 1853, aged 95.

(34). Stephen Grellet, with extended arms as in the act of preaching (Silhouette).

(35). Richard Mott, a minister of Burlington, N. J.

(36). George Dillwyn, of Burlington, N. J.

- (37). Joshua Longstreth. Portrait.
- (38). George Fox, at the age of 30 years.
- (39). George Fox. With hat.
- (40). James Naylor. Showing the brand of B on his forehead.
- (41). First Philadelphia Meeting House. Old pictures on glass.
- (42). Ancient Meeting House of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.
- (43). Later Meeting House of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.
- (44). Meeting House, Newport, R. I.
- (45). Meeting House, Indiana Yearly meeting, at Richmond.
- (46). Ancient Meeting House. Friends seated in the gallery.
- (47). Interior of Devonshire Meeting House, London.
- (48). Swarthmoor Hall, residence of Judge and Margaret Fell.
- (49). Residence of Anthony Benezet, Philadelphia.
- (50). Shoosharry, near Petersburg, Russia, residence of Daniel Wheeler, taken from drawing by his son Charles.
- (51). Residence of Stephen Grellet, Burlington, N. J.
- (52). Burlington Meeting House from Stone by J. Collins.
- (53). West Hill, residence of Eliza P. Gurney.
- (54). Home of Isaac Sharp.
- (55). Residence of Joshua Longstreth.
- (56). Old Almshouse on Walnut Street, Philadelphia.
- (57). Facsimile of Letter of Abraham Lincoln to Eliza P. Gurney.
- (58). Nicholas Waln. Portrait.
- (59). Elizabeth Fry at Newgate Prison.
- (60). John Overend, of Overend, Gurney & Co., Bankers.
- (61). Westtown Boarding School. Plan of Farm. 1798.
- (62). Westtown Boarding School. Building in 1840. South Garden.
- (63). Westtown Boarding School. Building covered with snow.

(64). Westtown Boarding School. Plan of Boys' Garden. 1838-1840.

(65). Westtown Boarding School. Southeast view. 1847.

(66). Providence Boarding School.

(67). Providence Boarding School. Theodore Lang Memorial Gate.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

(68). Small leather trunk for papers, brought from Newcastle, England, to Burlington, N. J., in the ship Providence, 1683.

(69). Stephen Grellet's Dining Table.

(70). Stephen Grellet's Parlor Chairs.

(71). Stephen Grellet's Umbrella.

(72). Stephen Grellet's Salt Cellars.

(73). Stephen Grellet's Medicine Chest.

(74). James Logan's Silver Cream Pitcher, presented to him by William Penn, bearing Logan crest.

(75). Martha Milcah Moore's Silver Cream Pitcher.

(76). Sarah Logan Smith's Sugar Tongs.

(77). Gold chatelaine for watch.

(78). Painting on Ivory of Susan Emlen, neé Dillwyn, grand-daughter of James Logan.

(79). Album of Silhouettes.

(80). Pocket Knife and Fork. Richard Mott. 1795-1830.

(81). Nantucket "Betty Lamp."

(82). "Ancient Pins." "Vanity Box" for reticule.

(83). Samuel Morris' Watch, 1750, with the letters of his name arranged on the face to take the place of figures.

(84). Infant's Dress, with hand embroidered flowers. 1750. Morris family.

(85). Jewel Box. 1750. Buckley family.

(86). Sleeve-buttons and Breast-pin worn by Luke W. Morris in memory of his wife. 1791.

(87). Fans belonging to Betsy Buckley, wife of Luke W. Morris.

(88). Oyster Knife and Ancient Seal of Anthony Morris Buckley.

(89). Large Silver Spoon given by will of Daniel Leeds, (the First) of Burlington, N. J., to his son, Felix Leeds.

(90). Umbrella (100 years old). Slippers (100 years old).

(91). Lock of Phebe Pemberton's hair, cut off in 1680, when she was 25 years old.

(92). Pair of Shoe-buckles, set with rhinestones (18th century).

(93). Foot stove (18th century).

(94). Revolving Table distrained for militia fines from a Friend, about 1796.

(95). Child's Windsor Chair, made in Philadelphia about 1738.

(96.) Curled Maple Chair. Fashionable 80 years ago.

(97). Two Cotton Bed Spreads, made of India cotton, printed with historical scenes (18th century).

(98). Curious Toy, horse and carriage, made for George M. Coates in 1782.

(99). Doll, named Susanna Horne, brought from England about 1800, by Thomas Scattergood for his daughter.

(100). Doll, dressed 30 years ago, to represent the dress of Women Friends, in the middle of the 19th century.

(101). Cup and Saucer, Royal Meissen, said to be 200 years old.

(102). Cup and Saucer, Sevres, of Louis Philippe (1830-48), from Chauteau des Tuilleries.

(103). Vase, cup shape, brought by Captain John Green in first vessel sailing U. S. flag between China and the United States.

(104). Apostle Pitcher, with representation of the Twelve Apostles in relief.

(105). Miniature by Rembrandt Peale, of Hester Green, 1765-1818, daughter of Capt. James Craig, merchant.

(106). Piece of Roof of George Washington's Barn at Mount Vernon.

(107). Embroidery Case.

(108). Bead Bag. Sheppard Family.

(109). Knitted Bag. Sheppard Family.

(110). Sampler. Sheppard Family.

(111). Sampler made in Pine Street School, Philadelphia, 1827.

(112). Sampler. Milverton School. Mary Naftel. 1807.

(113). Sampler of patterns of fine darning for linen, made at "Weston School," 1806.

(114). Fire Bucket used at Westtown School.

(115). Pewter Porringer used at Westtown School. Seal worn by the bride, and watch presented by the groom to the bride who were married in 1816, in Twelfth Street Meeting House, Philadelphia.

(116). Snuff boxes used 100 years ago.

(117). Coin scales formerly owned by John Jacobs, of Perkiomen.

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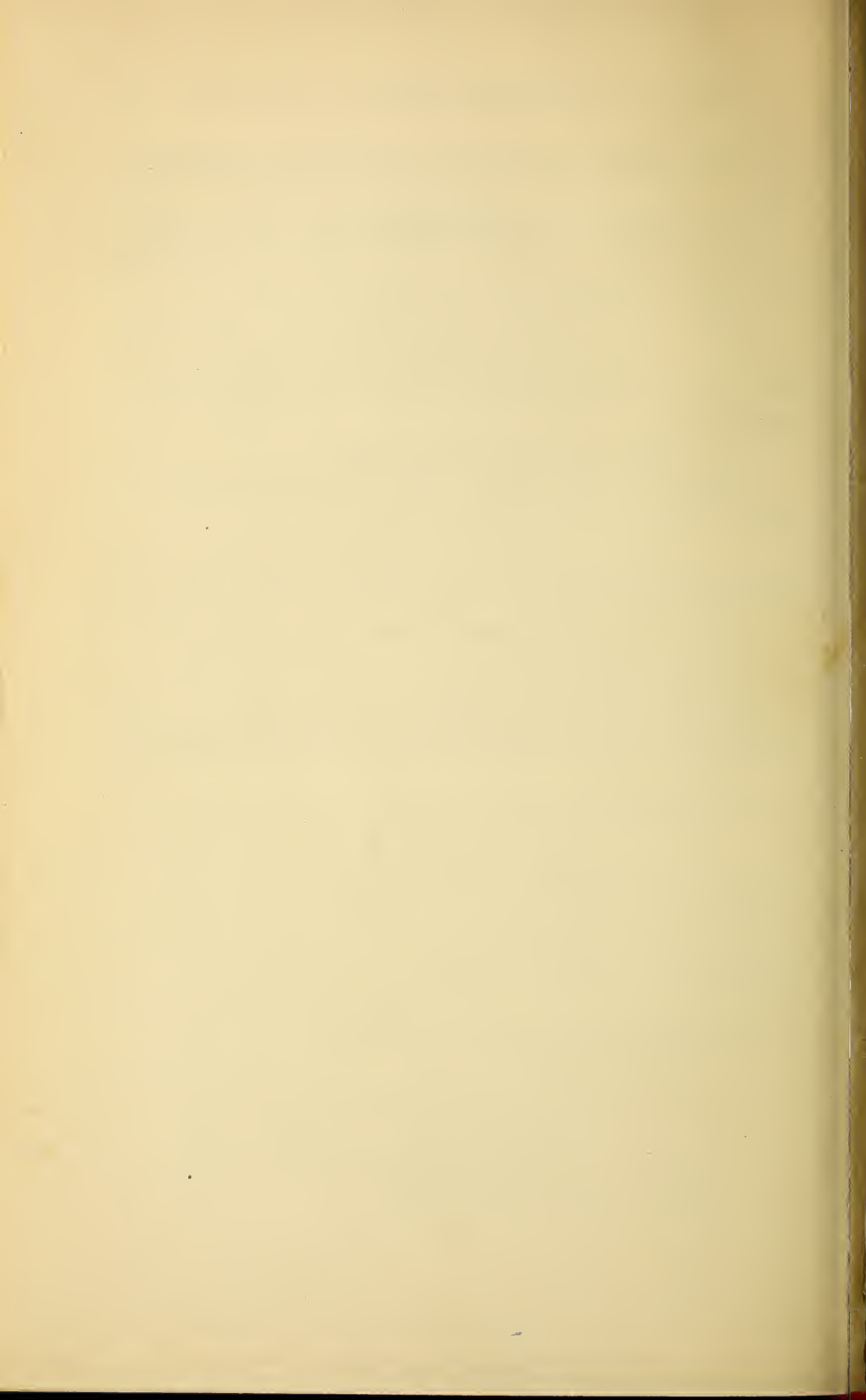
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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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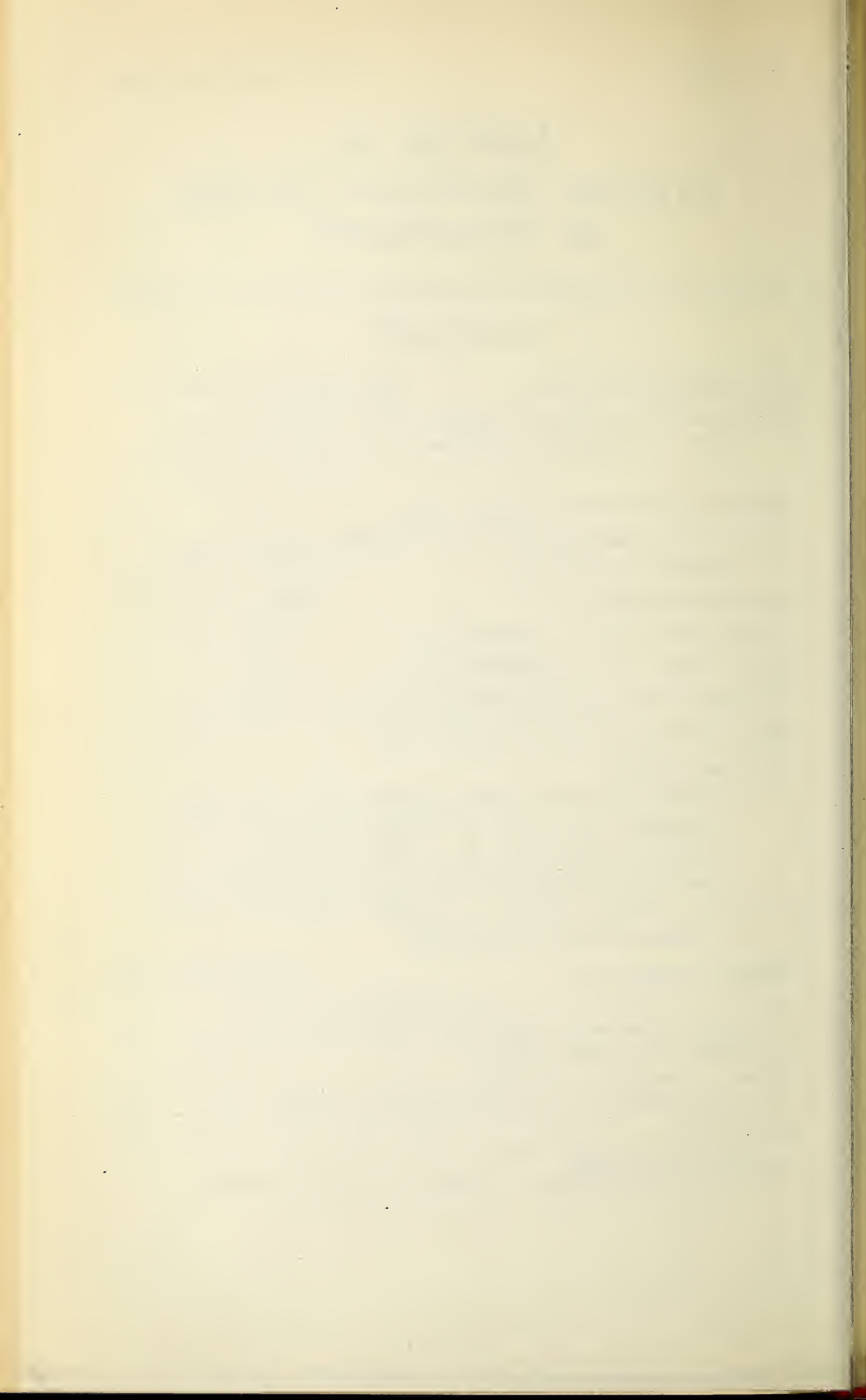
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NOTE. — The editor does not hold himself responsible for any state-
ment made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas,
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Subscriptions, \$1 per annum. All members receive the BULLETIN free.



THE BEACONITE CONTROVERSY.*

ANNA BRAITHWAITE THOMAS.

The Beaconite Controversy took its name from a small book entitled "A Beacon to the Society of Friends," published in First month, 1835, by Isaac Crewdson, a minister belonging to Manchester Meeting, England. To quote from Joseph John Gurney's description, "This publication consisted of a running commentary on various passages in the sermons of the late Elias Hicks, of North America, who had been disowned by Friends in that country; and, with proofs, drawn from Scripture, of this preacher's perversions and delusions are mixed up many painful innuendoes, trenching, in various degrees, on our well-known views of the spirituality of the Gospel of Christ. Indeed," says J. J. Gurney, "it is my deliberate judgment that the work, professing as it does to defend sound Christianity, has an undeniable tendency to undermine the precious doctrine of the immediate teaching, guidance, and government of the Holy Spirit."

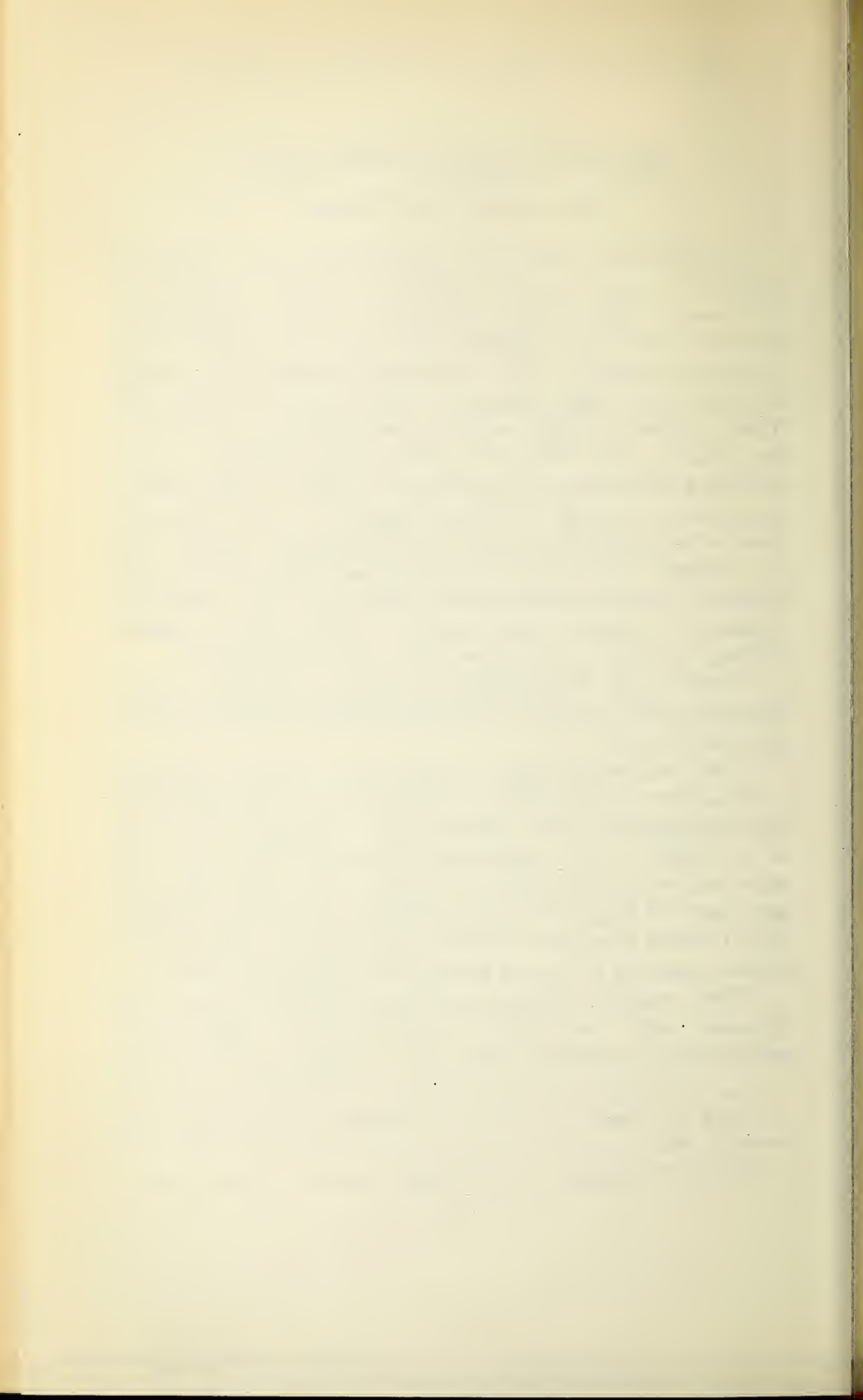
Such was the Beacon itself in the eyes of one who sympathized fully with its author in his desire for pure evangelical teaching in the Society.

The Controversy began in 1831, when a Tract Association in Manchester was broken up in consequence of doctrinal differences amongst the Friends interested, and culminated in the winter of 1836-37 in the resignation of Isaac Crewdson and of 48 other members of Manchester Meeting. This was followed in other parts of England by the resignation of about 250 Friends, many of them prominent members of the Society, making 300 in all who were lost to Friends through this lamentable schism.†

Thus, roughly speaking, the Beacon Controversy was contemporary with the reign of William IV, i. e., 1830-1837, a period of such wonderful changes that it might truly be said that

* Part of a paper read before the Haverford Round Table, Third month 15, 1909.

† See J. S. Rowntree. "The Friend," London, vol. 40, p. 797.



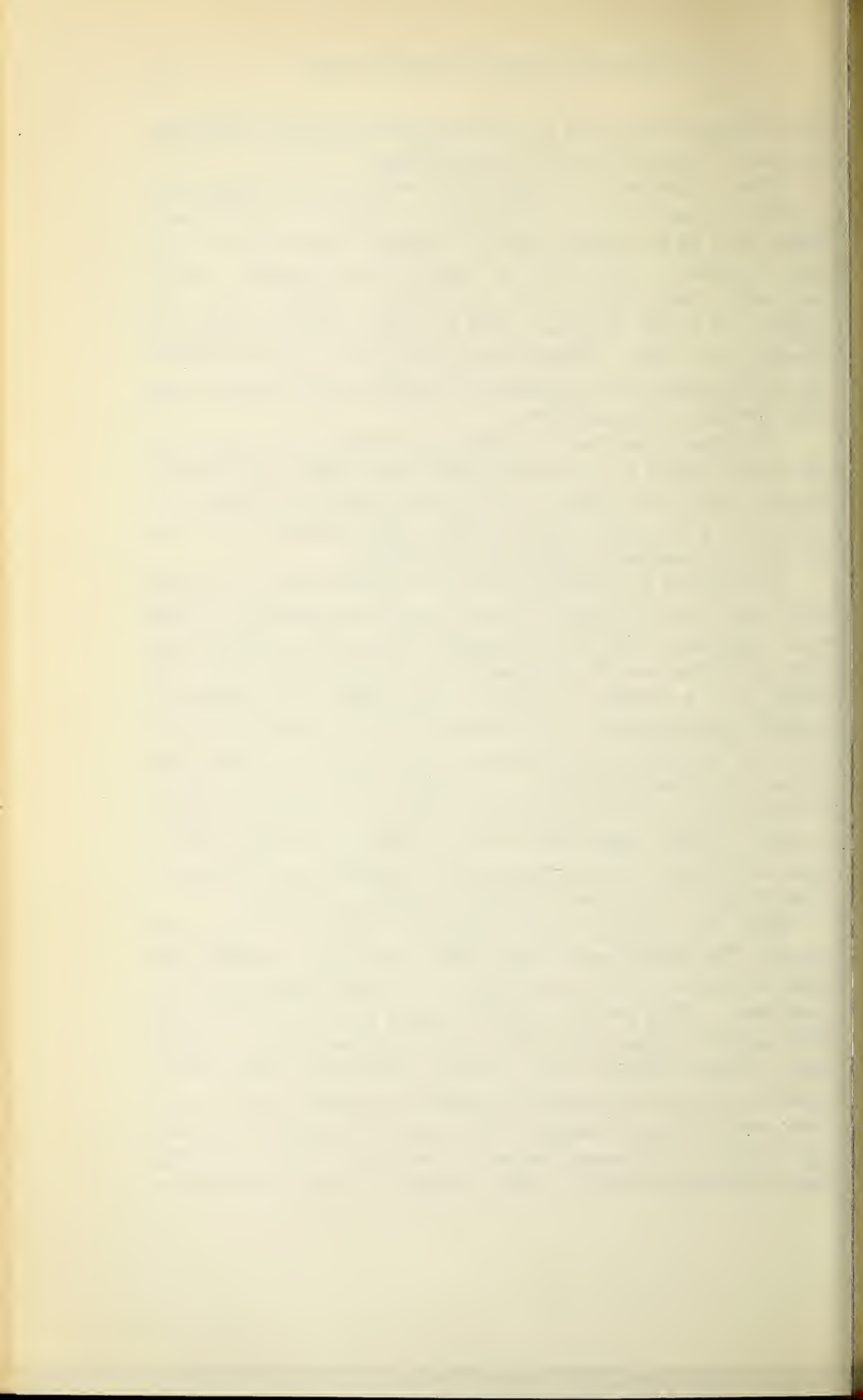
a new England was being born, not only politically and religiously but also in regard to material surroundings.

The old methods of travel which had lasted unchanged for a thousand years were now giving way to the great revolutionary steam, with all the seething mass of changes in manufactures that were to follow. In politics the battle of parliamentary reform was being fought out and the anti-slavery struggle was at its height, and in the religious world the same spirit of unrest and change was at work. Barriers were giving way and the thoughts of outside minds were touching the Society as they had not done since the days of George Fox.

The great separation of 1828 among Friends in America had not failed to have an important reflex action upon the Society in England, where the same sort of formal quietism had long prevailed and great stress had been laid on the discipline and upon the external peculiarities of dress and address.

Throughout the eighteenth century meetings were very often silent, but, in such ministry as there was, great emphasis was laid upon immediate inspiration; ministers frequently declaring that they had come into the meeting with *no* idea as to what they might have to deliver. The notion prevailed that intellectual activity was inimical to this inspiration, hence much of the ministry was absolutely, as it professed to be, devoid of intellectual or even of rational thought. It consisted largely in exhortations to dwell deep, to turn away from all that was of human wisdom, to seek unto that light within, which, if followed, would lead to peace with God; or in warnings against worldliness and denunciations of those who trusted in wealth and human learning.

With the opening of the nineteenth century a new era had begun. The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded, and from the outset there were always one or two Friends upon its committee. Thus greater attention began to be directed to the Bible and more stress to be placed upon Scripture truth. Joseph John Gurney, Elizabeth Fry, Hannah Backhouse, Anna Braithwaite and others were gifted and eloquent ministers of this newer order whose clearer teaching was warmly welcomed and much appreciated by the young people who naturally craved something more interesting than the silent meetings or tedious generalities



of the older preachers. At the same time, the philanthropic activities of the first third of the century were doing much to break down the barriers between Friends and other Christian people. Thus there were two very distinct schools of thought in the Society. John Barclay (father of the author of "The Inner Life," etc.), George and Ann Jones, Sarah Lynes Grubb and Thomas Shillitoe may be mentioned as exponents of the more mystical or introverted theology, whilst J. J. Gurney, Elizabeth Fry, Hannah Backhouse and Anna Braithwaite, with others less widely known, upheld the more evangelical standard. Some prominent ministers, such as John and Joseph Pease, Samuel Tuke and Stephen Grellet (then on a religious visit to Europe) appear to have occupied a middle position, being claimed sometimes by one and sometimes by the other party.

The differences, though real, might have continued to exist side by side with good results to all concerned but for the actions of a group of very active and rather ultra individuals who came into prominence about this time:

Chief among these may be mentioned Isaac Crewdson himself, the author of the Beacon. He had been born at Kendal in 1780; hence at the time of the "Controversy" he was already well advanced in middle life. He was then residing at Ardwick Green, a suburb of Manchester, and was an acknowledged minister in the Society. He had been brought up in all the strictness of external Quakerism, and had early imbibed a strong attachment to its usages, but it was not until towards middle life that evangelical truth dawned upon his mind. "I remember," says J. J. Gurney in his autobiography, "telling my friend, Isaac Crewdson, nearly three years before the publication of the Beacon, that he and I had started in our race from opposite points, had met, and crossed on the road."* Isaac Crewdson was greatly beloved in his own meeting, and was moreover closely connected by ties of birth and marriage with an unusually large number of prominent Quaker families, at Kendal, Birmingham, Tottenham, Plymouth, etc. Associated with him in the evangelical movement at Manchester was his brother-in-law, William Boulton, an elder.

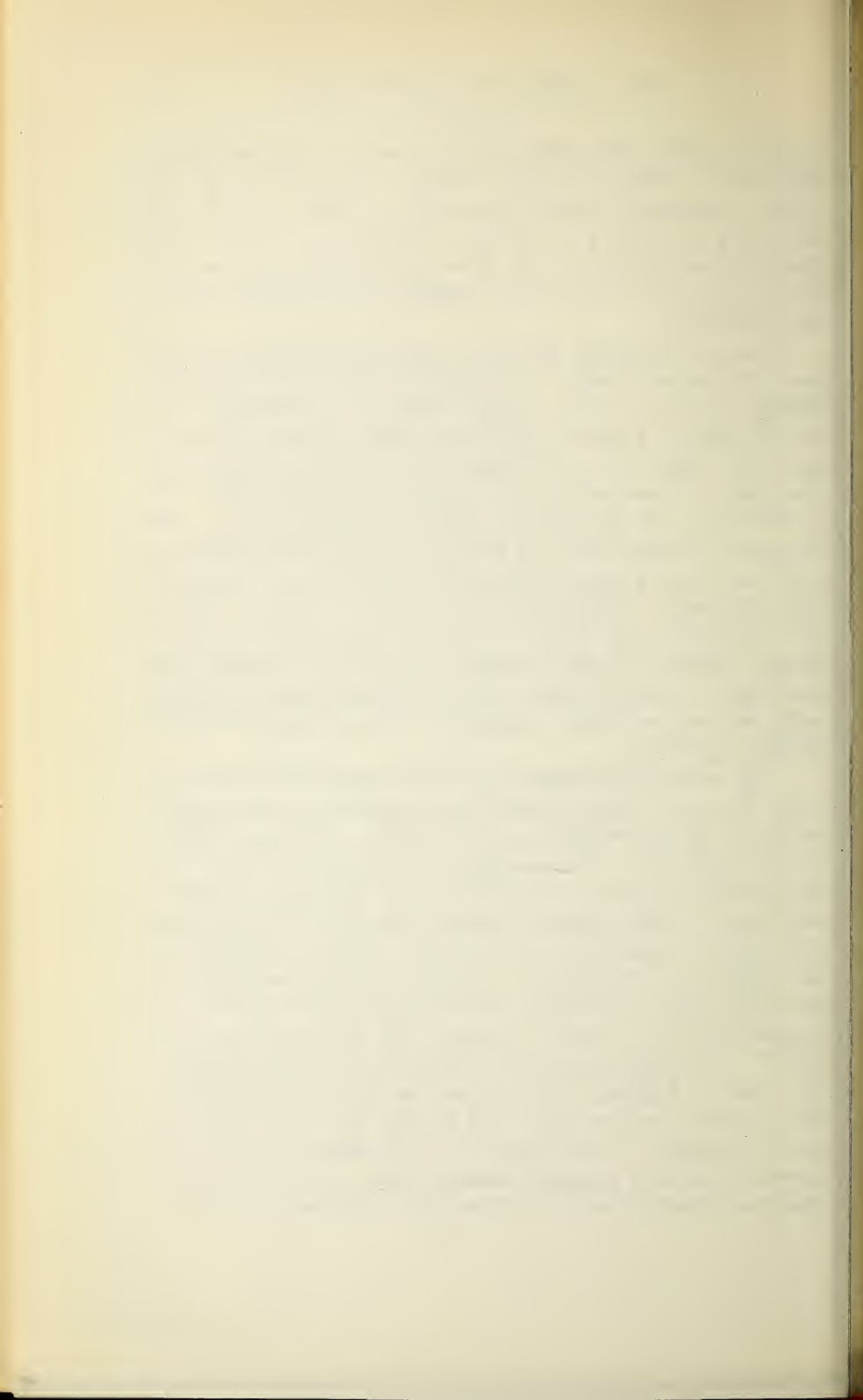
* Life of J. J. Gurney, vol. 2, p. 15.



with some gift in the ministry, who as early as 1833 had opened his house for "Bible-studying" meetings. These gatherings were at first very small, sometimes attended by only five or six persons, but they gave rise to great division of feeling and came to be the ground of an exception in the Answer to the Query on Love and Unity as sent up to the Yearly Meeting from Lancashire Quarterly Meeting.

Another prominent Beaconite was John Wilkinson, a minister of Chesham, Bucks. He appears to have had a somewhat lengthy gift and to have thought nothing of preaching for an hour or more at a time. In fact the leaders on both sides had a good deal of the gift of continuance, and meetings held far longer than they do now-a-days, each party in turn lamenting the "tediousness" of the others in rather an amusing way. John Wilkinson preached doctrinal sermons of a somewhat Calvinistic type, but he was a man of a peculiarly sensitive spirit, very gentle and affectionate. Through his wife, Esther Wilson, of Kendal, John Wilkinson was brought into close touch with the various Kendal Quaker clans and exercised a very strong influence especially upon the young people. Esther Wilkinson was quite a character; she was an ardent evangelical with an intense dislike for Quaker mysticism.

Still another prominent actor in the Beacon movement was Luke Howard, a man of decided and somewhat erratic opinions which he did not hesitate to put forward at all times, without much consideration for the feelings of his opponents. There were other public supporters of the Beacon, but the only one whom I shall name is Elisha Bates, a minister from Ohio Yearly Meeting, who visited England with a certificate in 1833-34. Hodgson, in his "History of the Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century," says that he had been "an eloquent preacher and very serviceable while he abode in humility and the true fear of the Lord." He certainly was greatly beloved and admired during his first visit to England and exercised an important influence in favor of the new doctrines. But in 1834 there was already so much uneasiness felt with some of his teaching that the select meeting withheld a returning minute. Next year, however, John Hodgkin called the attention of the Yearly Meeting to this omis-



sion, and the expression of disapprobation was so strong that the Select Yearly Meeting was directed to reconsider its judgment. This was done, and, under the popular pressure, the meeting actually retracted its former action and sent a clear returning minute to America. Elisha Bates came again unexpectedly and without a minute in the spring of 1836, "professedly on the ground of outward business." (Hodgson.) At this time he devoted himself to efforts to help forward the Beacon party. With this object, he commenced the publication in England of his "Miscellaneous Repository,"* which became a vehicle for attacks on the ancient landmarks. (Hodgson.) It went through several numbers. Finally, in the autumn of 1836 he received water baptism at the hands of John Pye Smith, a London minister, probably the first instance in which one occupying at the time the station of a recorded minister in the Society has been baptized. He afterwards published several pamphlets in support of his position, and one in which he endeavored to destroy the religious standing of the early Friends. On his return to America he did not find much acceptance from his Friends at home for his new opinions, and shortly afterwards he joined the Methodists.

The chief points in the controversy were connected with the doctrine of Justification by Faith, or, viewed from another standpoint, with the doctrine of the Inner Light. The Beaconite leaders had, so far as their own experience went, and some of them in comparatively advanced life, rediscovered the doctrine of Justification by Faith. Hence they were inclined to emphasize that exclusively and to undervalue, or it would be more correct to say, entirely to reject, the favorite doctrine of Quakerism regarding the work of Christ in the heart. They began to point out what seemed to them the defects in Quakerism and to stigmatize the writings of the early Friends as "unsound," "unscriptural," even "blasphemous." Hard words were used by both parties, women Friends such as Sarah Lynes Grubb, Ann Jones and Abigail

* The "Miscellaneous Repository" was begun at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1828, and continued semi-monthly until 1832. When in England Elisha Bates issued the last part of volume 5, (numbers 23 to 28) at Kendal. It was permanently suspended Ninth month 1, 1836. The earlier volumes are largely taken up with the "Hicksite" controversy.—Ed.



Dockray, of Manchester, would feel a concern to visit the men's meeting, and would then, making the most solemn claim to be immediately inspired at the time, deliver impassioned denunciations of "Babel builders who sought in their own strength and wisdom to build up a structure that would reach to heaven," etc., etc., etc.

Manchester Meeting was the principal storm-center of the controversy, for it contained very active representatives of both sides, and it was here that the "Bible-studying meetings" so strongly objected to by the more conservative members had been carried on at the house of one of the elders. It was here also that Isaac Crewdson exercised his very influential ministry. The meeting numbered about 400, and at least 100 of the active members sympathized with the new doctrines.

In the winter of 1834-35 Isaac Crewdson published the *Beacon*, and by Third month, 1835, it had reached its second edition. The copy in my possession was presented to my father by the author, and is a thin cloth-bound 8vo book, of about 150 pages. It was ostensibly published to counteract the errors of "Hicksism," and consists of extracts from the sermons of Elias Hicks, together with passages of Scripture arranged to correct the errors. There are also some remarks by the author, but the Scripture passages form by far the largest part of the little volume. They are very carefully selected, and of course no fault can be found with them; in fact, being printed in full under the various headings, they exhibit in a very striking manner the Scripture teaching; but Isaac Crewdson, in his horror at "Hicksite" doctrine, and his disgust at recognizing in it certain favorite expressions of the introspective school, had violently attacked these without any explanation of the fact that Elias Hicks had used them in an entirely different sense. "The Inner Light" was one of these expressions. To Elias Hicks it meant the natural light of human reason; to the English Friends who made use of it, it signified the enlightening power of the Holy Spirit on the heart of man, and Isaac Crewdson afterwards admitted that he recognized the complete difference between the two uses of the term.*

* See "Complete Correspondence," etc.



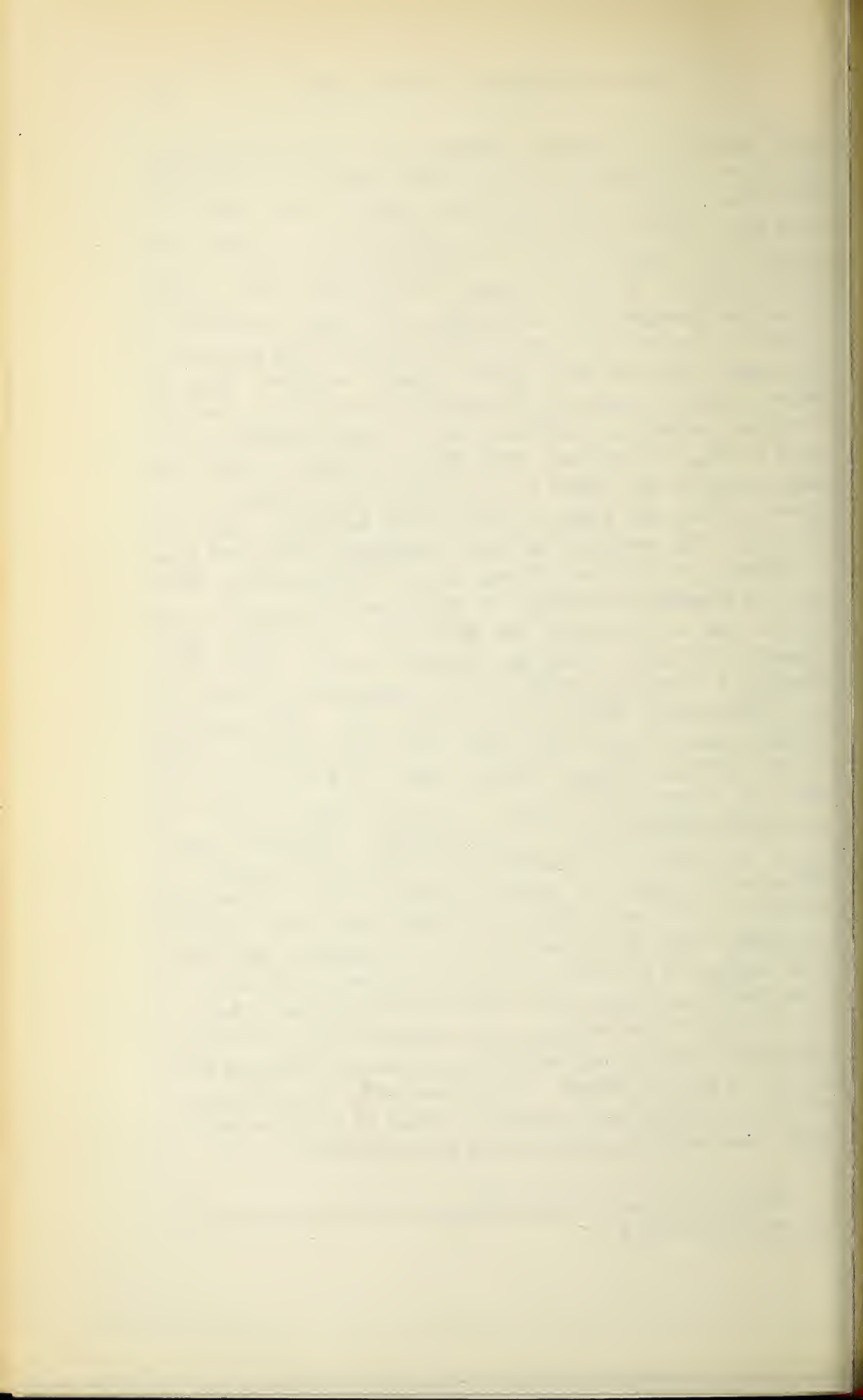
The book created an immense sensation, not only in the Society, but amongst other Christian people, for, contrary to the usual custom of Friends, Isaac Crewdson had had it advertised very widely, so that it was reviewed in a number of religious papers, most of which took occasion to comment on the dangers to which the holding of such doctrines as those set forth in the extracts from Elias Hicks's sermons exposed the Society, together with their great satisfaction that a body so excellent in many ways should now have recognized its errors and be about to reform them. All this was of course very trying to many Friends, and it was felt that whatever might have been the original motive of the author, he had at any rate succeeded in casting a great deal of obloquy on the Society. The main practical difficulty with the Beacon was that such great emphasis was laid on the outward work of Christ and upon the written revelation of God's will as contained in the Scriptures, as to disparage the inward work of the Holy Spirit upon the heart. The Beaconites contended that this was not the case and claimed that they fully believed in the Holy Spirit in all His offices, yet in noting their later history, we find that a considerable number of them joined the Plymouth Brethren after leaving Friends, and did become extremely external in their notions. Many went so far as to confine the direct work of God upon the heart to the revelation contained in the Bible. The custom of calling the Bible "The Word" or "the Word of God" was also very common amongst them. Following out the same general line of thought most of the prominent Beaconite leaders were "water-baptized" within a short time. I do not know that there had been any teaching in reference to water baptism previous to the appointment of the Yearly Meeting's committee in 1835, but it is evident from their correspondence that this tendency already existed and was known to members of the committee.

The Beacon, as stated above, was published in the winter of 1834-35, and "was quickly followed," says Hodgson, "by a shower of pamphlets in the same direction, many of which were very crude and frothy, but all tending to raise a commotion and kindle unhallowed fire." (Hodgson, "History," etc., Vol. I, p. 247.) There were also a number of attempts to answer or refute the doctrines set forth in the Beacon, but none of them was offi-



cially endorsed by Friends. Amongst them may be mentioned Dr. Thomas Hancock's "Defence of the Doctrine of Immediate Revelation and Universal and Saving Light"; a fiery and somewhat bitter and ill-judged attack on the Beacon, by a young man named Henry Martin, called "Truth Vindicated," and "A Lamp for the Beacon," by John Harrison, of Manchester, who showed by parallel passages from the writings of the early opponents of Quakerism that the Beaconite doctrines had been long ago refuted by George Fox and other ancient Quaker worthies. Most of these pamphlets opened up fresh fields for controversy, and the strife was waxing more and more bitter. In the meantime, and as early as 1834 the attention of the Yearly Meeting had been officially called to the contest by an exception in the answer to the Query on Love and Unity as sent up from Lancashire Quarterly Meeting. This exception, as before mentioned, had arisen from a difference of view in reference to the "Bible-studying Meetings" in Manchester Meeting. In 1835, when the contest over the Beacon was at its hottest, the exception to the Query again appeared, and after a long and heated discussion in the Yearly Meeting, a committee of thirteen was appointed to endeavor to assist Manchester Meeting in restoring unity. The committee included Samuel Tuke, then clerk of the Yearly Meeting; Josiah Forster, William Forster, William Allen, Dr. Edward Ash and, above all, Joseph John Gurney. It was a strong one from the prominence and blameless Christian character of the men composing it, but weak in two aspects; first because there existed considerable divergence of opinion amongst them, and secondly because Dr. Ash and Joseph John Gurney had already published numerous essays on the subjects under discussion, and Joseph John Gurney at any rate was to some extent committed in the same direction as those whose errors he was supposed to be striving to correct.* The committee paid repeated visits to Manchester and labored hard, giving much time and prayerful thought to the attempt to heal the breach. They presented to Isaac Crewdson a series of objections to the Beacon, to which he replied seriatim, in most cases explaining that he had been misunderstood and had

* NOTE.—J. J. Gurney himself objected to his own appointment, but was overruled.—EDITOR.

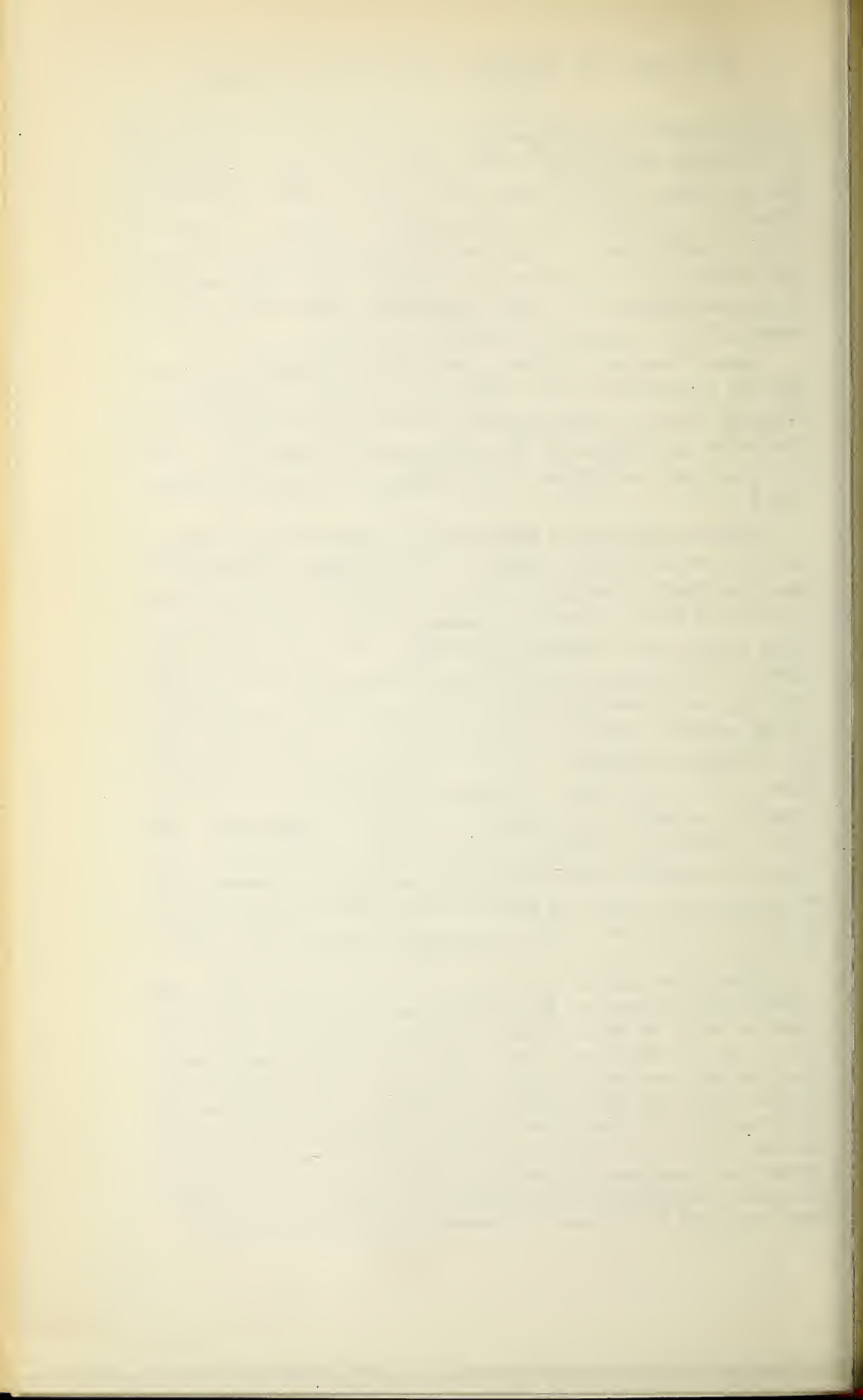


had no intention of disregarding or attacking the beliefs referred to. Though professedly greatly relieved by these explanations, the committee still felt uneasy and advised "their Friend Isaac Crewdson to refrain from exercising his ministry." They also "felt bound to state their continued dissatisfaction with the manifest tendency of the Beacon, and thought it their duty under all the circumstances of the case, affectionately but earnestly to recommend him to suppress its further circulation."

Isaac Crewdson did for a few months refrain from preaching, but he absolutely, and I think very naturally, refused to suppress the Beacon, contending that as the committee had expressed themselves as relieved by his explanations in regard to it, they had practically withdrawn their charges of doctrinal unsoundness.*

Matters were in this unsatisfactory state when the lengthening days and the bright sunshine of May returned, bringing with them the Yearly Meeting of 1836. It was the last time that London Yearly Meeting met as an undivided body, and it was also in other ways a very important gathering. Once more the Quaker suburbs of Tottenham and Winchmore Hill and Stoke Newington were gay with flowering lilacs and laburnum, and humming with all the subdued hilarity of the great Quaker festival; and when the Meetings began the "Yard" and passages at Devonshire House (then just freshly remodeled and fitted up) overflowed with the unusually large numbers who were in attendance. The Men's Meeting in particular must have been a noteworthy sight when we remember that of the eight hundred to a thousand men who composed it nearly all would be clad in the distinctive Quaker garb, even those who were increasingly feeling their want of

* From a tract published two years later by Isaac Crewdson, called "The Trumpet Blown," we find that there were at least three important points on which he was at variance with the practices of Friends. He says (p. 39), "I did intend to have made some further observations, to show that the errors of the Society, with regard to the preaching of the Gospel, prayer, and The Ordinances of Baptism and the Supper, have all sprung out of this unscriptural doctrine" (namely, the Inner Light.) William Boulton had also been recommended by the Committee to refrain from exercising his ministry, and there was much hard feeling among the sympathizers of both Friends on account of the attempt, as they considered it, to silence the sound preaching of the Gospel.



unity with the body rarely discarding the garb, so that to the casual observer there was no appearance of disunity.

This was the Yearly Meeting at which Joseph John Gurney uttered his famous saying about the middle men: "On the subject which particularly agitated the Society at the present time, he did not hesitate to declare that he was a middle man. (The Lord forbid that he should be any other.) And this not from indecision (as some asserted), but from a clear conviction that there was great danger, while they were avoiding Scylla, of falling into Charybdis. He would affectionately exhort his dear friends to take this middle course, for he believed it to be the right one; to choose the middle of the river Jordan, for that was the deepest. He would not compromise one jot of true Christianity, nor yet of sound Quakerism, for he asserted them to be [identical.] The distinguishing trust of the Society had always been the free and independent influence of the Holy Spirit; and to this he would always hold. The Society had compromised nothing that could be found in Holy Scripture, and the expression, Christianity without Compromise, conveyed his notion of what Quakerism was. In conclusion, he repeated that he was confident the Society had always been quite sound in its estimation of Holy Scripture; but he did hope, before this Yearly Meeting was over, that for the relief of the minds of some Friends, it would again send forth a very decided and explicit statement on this important subject."

J. J. Gurney's address had been called out by a minute from Westmoreland Quarterly Meeting asking the Yearly Meeting to define clearly what are "in its estimation, the authority, place and office of the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith and practice."

The document finally adopted in response to this request stated that they "had always freely acknowledged that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by the inspiration of God, and that, therefore, their authority is the authority of God Himself, that they are the only divinely authorized record of all the doctrines which we are required to believe, and of all the moral principles which are to regulate our conduct; that from them there is no appeal to any authority whatsoever, that whatsoever is not contained in them ought not to be required of any one to be believed as an article of faith; and that whatsoever any do under the pretence even of the immediate influences of the Holy



Spirit that is contrary to the Scriptures, should be accounted a mere delusion; and that they should be diligently used."

Kendal Meeting, which had sent up this request, was probably, next to Manchester, the one in which the new views had obtained the greatest hold. At this time it had about three hundred members, a large proportion of whom belonged to one great family connection. Wilsons, Whitwells, Bensons, Crewdsons and Braithwaites had married and intermarried until it would puzzle any but a professional genealogist to unravel the relationships of the various families.

As before noted, most of them were closely related to the author of the Beacon, to John Wilkinson and to other Beaconite leaders; Anna Braithwaite's evangelical ministry had also doubtless had a powerful influence on the meeting. She and her husband had passed through the "Hicksite" troubles in America and had been deeply impressed with the danger of the "Hicksite" doctrines. They had been Elisha Bates's travelling companions on his first visit to England and had been closely bound to him by ties of friendship and sympathy. From all these causes it is not surprising that the intelligent earnest young people of this meeting were keenly interested in "the controversy" and were watching its progress with deepest sympathy. The proposition to the Yearly Meeting appears to have been a final effort to save the situation in Kendal for Quakerism.

At first it seemed as though the desired result had been attained, but eventually at least a hundred of their brightest and best members left the Society and joined, some the Church of England, and some the Plymouth Brethren, and for a generation afterwards the stripped and saddened feeling remained, whilst those who had passed through the struggle could scarcely be persuaded to recur to it even in private conversation, so painful were the recollections awakened. And yet amongst all these Kendal people of both parties earnest religious feelings prevailed. Each had acted from conscientious motives, and I do not think there had been much, if any, of what is ordinarily spoken of as strife and bitterness.

To return to Manchester: The Visiting Committee had been continued by the Yearly Meeting and was still laboring with the same earnestness, and the same total want of success as before, to heal the ever-widening breach.

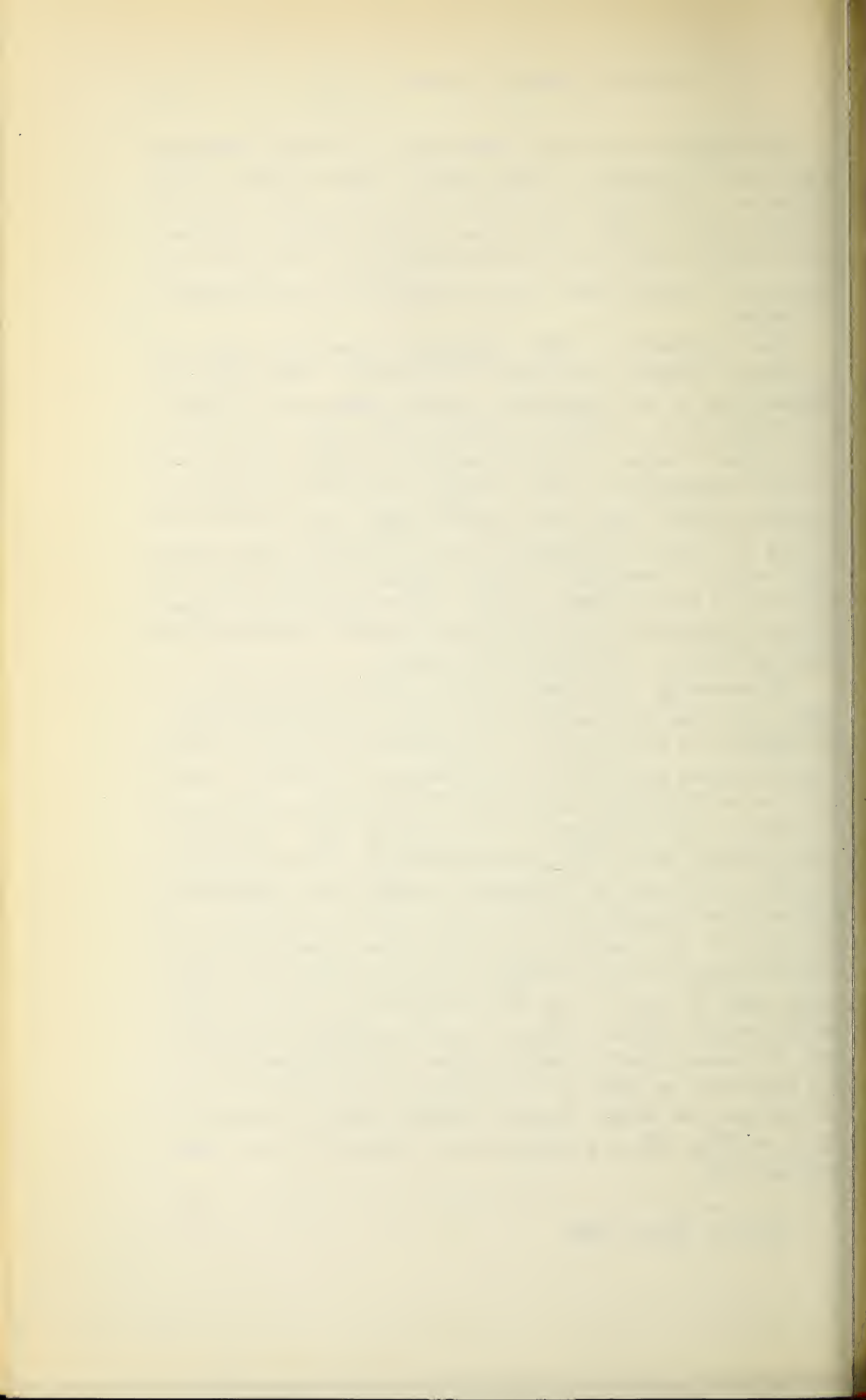


An attempt to revise the membership of the Select Meeting was strongly opposed. It was carried by the exertions of the committee, and evidently precipitated the climax which came in the late autumn of 1836, when Isaac Crewdson, William Boulton, with both their wives, who previously had been in the position of elders, and forty-six other Friends resigned their membership in the Society.

The acceptance of these resignations closed the labors of the Yearly Meeting's committee in Manchester. The separated Friends kept up an organization, calling themselves "Evangelical Friends," the "Scripture-studying Meetings," attended in 1835-36, that is before the actual separation, by about one hundred persons* continuing to be their meetings for worship. About two hundred and fifty others who held the same views also left the Society in Bristol, Birmingham, Kendal, Tottenham, etc., and in 1837 they held a meeting in London, issuing an address after the manner of a Yearly Meeting epistle. Before long, however, most of them submitted to the rite of water baptism and joined the Episcopal Church or the Plymouth Brethren.

In reviewing the history of this deplorable controversy it seems to me that both parties were wrong in opposing the favorite doctrines of the other side. The mistakes made by London Yearly Meeting arose from an unwillingness to admit any errors whatever in the writings of the early Friends and also from want of clearness and thoroughness in teaching the Bible. Their theoretical position on the Bible, on its inspiration, on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and on immediate revelation was undoubtedly right and the Evangelical Friends were wrong in rejecting it. In one sense we can scarcely lay too much stress upon the outward work of Christ for our redemption and yet we should lay an equal stress upon the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart, without which the other blessed revelation remains unfruitful and ineffective. We must believe in and appreciate to the full the record of our Lord's life on earth, of His sufferings and death for us, but no less must we believe that the revelation has not ceased, that He is working still and will still reveal Himself to the seeking trusting soul.

* Letter of Samuel Tuke.



LETTER FROM WILLIAM PENN TO ELIZABETH,
PRINCESS PALATINE, ABBESS OF THE PROTE-
STANT CONVENT OF HEREFORD, 1677,
WITH AN INTRODUCTION.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

The following letter is one of a collection of valuable papers recently given to Haverford College by the daughters of Gulielma M. Howland. They are to be known as the Gulielma M. Howland Collection. This letter is an autograph copy, in the earlier style of William Penn's handwriting, and may be the original from which the copy was made for the Princess. It has come down through the Logan family. Thus far, no trace of its publication has been found, and as the reply of the Princess has been given in Janney's *Life of Penn*, it has been thought well to print it in the *BULLETIN* at this time, particularly as so much interest is being taken in the writings of William Penn for the forthcoming complete edition.

The companions of Penn upon this journey to Holland and Germany were George Fox and his stepdaughter, Isabel Yeamans, Robert Barclay, George Keith, and his wife, George Watts, John Furley and William Talcoat, with two servants. There is lack of agreement in the several accounts of this journey, and its purpose. Penn himself is silent as to his wish to effect any union between the Quakers and the Labadists. Such is said to have been his object by Elizabeth Godfrey in her delightful book, "*A Sister of Prince Rupert*."* Neither does Janney mention this in his "*Life of Penn*."† The fact is that on his first religious visit to the continent six years before, Penn had met de Labadie and rebuked him for his errors.‡ E. Godfrey refers, not to the *Journal*, but to other narratives.§ Penn does not imply that he sent the three

* *A Sister of Prince Rupert*, etc. By Elizabeth Godfrey. London, 1909, p. 376.

† *Life of Wiliam Penn*, Samuel M. Janney, 2nd edition, Philadelphia, 1852, pp. 135-137.

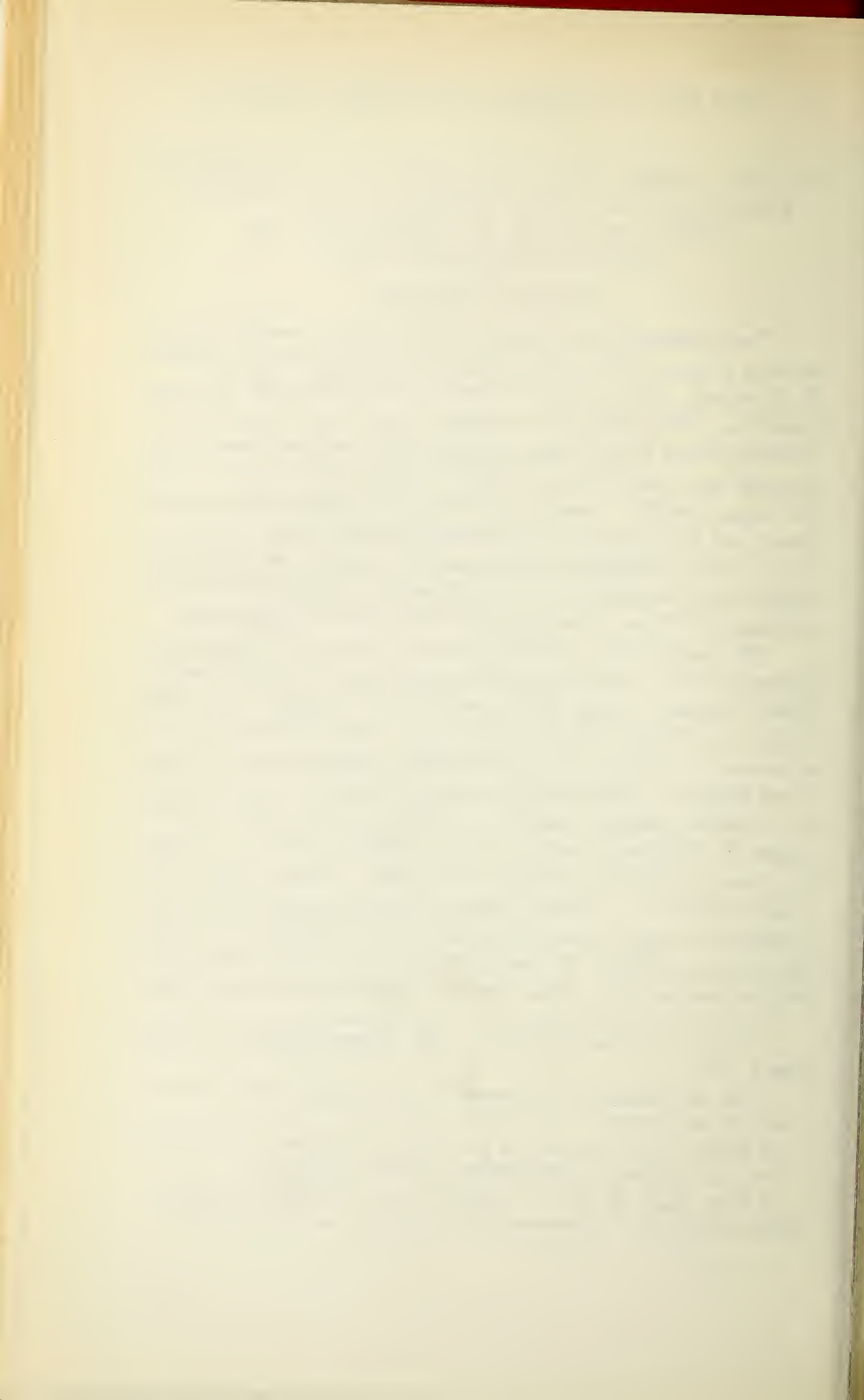
‡ William Penn's *Journal of his Travels in Holland and Germany* in 1677. 4th edition, by John Barclay. London, 1835, p. 20.

§ Mme. Blaze de Bury. "*Memoirs of the Princess of Bohemia*." Foucher de Careil. "*L'Influence de Cartesianisme sur les Femmes*."

Quaker ladies ahead under the escort of Robert Barclay, to prepare the Princess for his coming, since he had corresponded with her for six years. About a year before, i.e., in 1676, Robert Barclay and Benjamin Furley had visited the Princess, and soon after, the Dutch woman Friend, Gertrude Diericks, had accompanied Elizabeth Hendricks, perhaps as interpreter. The misapprehension that a party was sent on to prepare the way probably arose from the fact that a remarkable letter from George Fox was delivered to the Princess by the hands of Isabel Yeamans and Elizabeth Keith* just before William Penn came to Herford, and probably while he was absent in Germany. It does not appear that Fox was at Herford at all. This is the only occasion on which Penn kept an account of his travels, and it was done, he explains, "for his own satisfaction and that of some relatives and particular friends." The author consented to its publication many years after, when a copy was found among the papers of the deceased Countess of Conway. The little party left England in July, 1677, and arrived in Rotterdam in time to hold two meetings on the first day of the week at the house of Benjamin Furley, a learned Englishman who had married a Dutch wife and settled at that place. After brief visits at Leyden, Harlem and Amsterdam, Penn and Barclay proceeded to Herford to visit the Princess Palatine Elizabeth, Abbess of the Protestant nunnery of that name.

The Princess was daughter of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England; they formerly

* Of the women named Elizabeth Keith, was the wife of George Keith. Since the Archives of New Jersey named Keith's wife in 1682 as Anne, he was probably twice married. Isabel Yeamans was the very interesting wife of William Yeamans, and daughter of Judge Fell and Margaret, afterward wife of George Fox. She was married first in 1664, and on William Yeamans' death, in 1687, she married Abraham Morrice (Norman Penney. *Journal of George Fox I*, p. 492.) The Dutch historian Croese (*History of the Quakers*, 1696, ii. 237) says that "The Princess was especially pleased with Isabel's Discourse, who indeed had a curious voice and a freer way of delivering herself." Gertrude Diericks was the hostess of Penn and others in her home at Amsterdam. William Caton married Annekin Diericks in 1662, and his death occurred in 1665. Gertrude Diericks came to live in England later, and married Stephen Crisp.



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held Court at Heidelberg. She was but an infant when her father was elected King of Bohemia, and removed to Prague. He became head of the Protestant League (the "Evangelical Union"), and only twelve months later came his flight to Holland, following his defeat by Ferdinand II of Germany and the Duke of Bavaria. Among the friendly Dutch, under the immediate protection of the Prince of Orange, the little Elizabeth grew up. Her distinguished literary attainments were only a degree less than her devotion to the promulgation of the Protestant religion, a bent of mind which the family trials tended to increase. At sixteen she rejected the hand of the King of Poland because of his Roman Catholicism, and at twenty-three she became an ardent disciple of Descartes, then residing in Holland. She went to Leyden to be instructed by him, and so proficient was she in metaphysical and philosophical studies, that he called her "the miracle of Western Europe."

The Treaty of Westphalia restored to her brother Charles Louis a part of his father's dominions, and incorporated the Abbey at Herwerden, or Herford, in Westphalia, in the Electorate of Brandenburg, whose ruler was their cousin. The Elector in 1667 placed his cousin Elizabeth at the head of the Abbey in succession to their aunt, Elizabeth Louise, and two years later confirmed the ancient rights of the Abbey to two votes in the Reichstag, and its recognition as third of the four female ecclesiastical principalities in the empire. In all legal acts and documents the title of the Abbess became "Princess and Prelatess of the Holy Roman Empire." The ancient Abbey's history reached back even then to very early times; it had escaped suppression because of its important political rights, and because it had accepted the Reformation unopposed, surviving the vicissitudes of transition. Probably the title of the Abbess was on William Penn's mind when he wrote his letter. The Princess had jurisdiction over a large territory and more than seven thousand inhabitants, and her charity and graciousness in the capacity of ruler is referred to by Penn in his description of her in "No Cross, No Crown."*

* One cannot help regretting that Elizabeth did not make of her Abbey a great institution for the advancement of learning, among women especially. The opportunity was lost, for the Abbey became a refuge for religious fanatics and was torn down soon after 1815.



On William Penn's arrival, his request to be allowed to wait upon Elizabeth was answered with the announcement that he and his friends would be received "next morning, about the seventh hour," at which early season the Princess greeted them, says Penn, "with a more than ordinary expression of kindness." The Countess of Horne, then in the position of Canoness of the Chapter, was her companion throughout the interview, which partook of the character of a religious meeting. At two in the afternoon a large meeting followed "which did not break up until the seventh hour," says the Journal, "when the Lord in an eminent manner began to appear." Next morning a public meeting was held; at twelve they withdrew to their inn, but shortly after returned, and the afternoon was spent in the fulfillment of Penn's promise in an early letter to the Princess to relate the circumstances of his conviction and later experiences. The thrilling tale was not half finished when supper was announced, and they yielded to the solicitations of the Princess to remain as her guests. The narrative was resumed after the meal, and was listened to by Penn's distinguished audience until ten at night.

Next day, the Sabbath, meeting was held at the inn for the public, and again at the Abbey at two in the afternoon, when some of the townsfolk joined the family of the Princess. At the close of this meeting the Princess coming forward, took William Penn's hand and endeavored to express her sense of the presence of God among them, but she broke down, and sobbing aloud said, "I cannot speak to you; my heart is too full." She pressed them to return on their way home from Germany, and they took their leave of her and the Countess, "praying that they might be kept from the evil of this world."

On the return journey, William Penn visited first the three daughters of a gentleman of noble birth named Somerdyke, of the Hague, who were then living at Wiewerd. They had been led by the preaching of Jean de Labadie to withdraw from the world for a life of retirement and self-denial. De Labadie was a French Jesuit who had been converted to Protestantism, and carrying his views further than the professors of the Reformed religion at Geneva, made trouble for clergy and magistrates alike. The Princess Elizabeth granted him protection, together with his numerous



following, but she became persuaded that they were largely in error, and wanting her approval of their doctrines, they withdraw from her territory. It was a portion of these people who came to America and founded "Bohemia Manor" in Maryland. William Penn had visited the leader in 1671, and had discovered his lack of stability and depth, and had probably warned the Princess; it is to this man and her abjuration of his doctrines that Penn refers in his letter to her. The Somerdyke sisters appear to have become the protectors of de Labadie's followers after his decease, and they were growing more in sympathy with the Quakers under the guidance of the Somerdykes and of Anna Maria Schurmann, a learned lady who was famous for her studies in philosophy, but was still more famous for her preaching of a mystical religion.

William Penn's second visit at this time was made from Wiewerd. He appears equally at home in German, Dutch and French, using the latter in his conversation with Count Donau, then visiting the Princess. The Friends held several impressive meetings, and at their departure, Penn exhorted the people earnestly, and kneeling in prayer, "besought the Lord's presence with them, recommending them to his protection." The journey to Wesel, their next halting place, at a distance of two hundred miles was made "without rest in a wagon crowded with passengers and covered with only a ragged sheet." For three days and nights continuously they were obliged to listen to their profane and ribald companions whom they rebuked and entreated to reform. During these days the burden for the salvation of the Princess and her family lay heavily on Penn's heart, and the letter which follows was written immediately upon his arrival at Wesel. It will speak for itself.

My dearly Respected friend

Great & notable is ye day of ye Lord wch is now dawning upon ye inhabitants of ye Earth a day of sore tryal & deep distress shall it be. For all ye hidden things of darkness shall be brought to light; & all flesh shall be judged before ye Lord. A day of winnowing & of sifting; no evil shall escape him. A day of reckoning & decision; yea, a day in which God shall humble all flesh & teach this pagan-christian world, righteousness in ye midst of

ye paths of his firey Judg^{mts}. Ah blessed are they, that in their hearts & souls are awakened to this day by ye light of ye Lord; & that sleep not in this daytime; neither slumber away their precious visitation in ye Cares, pleasures, Customes & entertainments of this degenerate & Apostate world; but watch & pray, that they enter not into temptation.

O Dear Princess, this is thy day; ye Lord God allmighty, y^t called out Abraham from ye Land of Idolatry, in which he lived, hath visited thy court, & hath called thee by his eternal word & power out of ye nature, spirit, life, & inventions of ye world. Yea, & I testify thou hast given him Audience in thy heart; & thou hast been sensibly struck with his presence, & livingly been affected with his appearance: & imortality hath taken hold of thee, & heavenly desires hath he kindled in thy soul after him: And I am satisfyed, ye Spirit is willing, though ye flesh be weak.

Now give up, o give up thy all, that thou mayst inherit eternal life: follow him: for he is worthy forever. Consult not away thy convictions; stifle not thy tender breathings by letting in, & entertaining ye politique Spirit of this world, ye prudence & discretion of man, that never did god's will, nor never can; for it hath no part in ye work of god. 'Tis ye babe, ye child, ye suckling, that w^{ch} is born of god, that can leave all for him; yt cleaveth to him, & only cryeth after him; & that confideth in him alone; that never disputeth, but always believeth & obeyeth. O this is ye only begotten of god, or that which god only by his immortal word & incorruptable seed begetteth in them, that receive his appearance. This lyeth in ye bosom of ye ffather, and sucheth of ye breasts of his consolation, even ye sincere milk of his living ingrafted word in the heart. The secrets of ye Lord are with him, & his light shineth upon his tabernacle: To this it is ye ffather's good pleasure, to give an everlasting kingdom. Therefore with all joy is he a poor pilgrim, & solitary traveller & very stranger in this world to ye nature, works, & fashions of it; voyaging through this vale of tears to ye eternal city of god his ffather, doing his will in a daily cross to his own, and that in all things: that his heavenly ffather may be glorified, & that he may be glorified with his ffather forever.

Ah this noble life is springing; this royal plant is rising:



neither hell, death, nor ye grave shall be able to suppress it any longer. For ye time, ye times, & half a time is expired; & ye Judg^{mt} of Babilon is begun: and ye Lord god is removing ye Abomination, that hath stood in ye holy place by his holy power. Yea, ye false prophet, beast, & dragon are all seen & comprehended, & sentence is going out ag^t them from ye god of all ye familys of ye earth: Wo to them, that take part with them; & will not leave them for ye Lord.

Come out from amongst them saith ye Lord god allmighty; be ye separated. Touch not with that adulterated spirit, with w^{ch} ye nations have been defiled, & bewitched from ye pure obedience of that faith in god, w^{ch} purifyeth ye hearts, & leadeth out of ye world, & overcometh it.

O Dear ffriend, gods candle is lighted in thee; sweap thy house, & seek ye Kingdom, & thou shalt find it. For ye Kingdom of god is within: yea, in thee is his holy day dawned. Therefore o search, o trye, & watch: Consider ye end of ye ffatherly visitation to thee, both where it has found thee, & for w^t end. Is it not to conform thee to Jesus, ye Lord, ye Captain, & ye holy leader of ye bodys, souls & spirits of all true christians. Come to his pure & righteous judg^{mt}, Dear Princess; O come, & let ye prince of this world be judged in thee; ye false power, righteousness, church, Authority, Inventions & buildings, which stand not in gods covenant, in his wisdom, w^{ch} is Christ Jesus. O is it ye earnest supplication of thy spirit to feel him, see him, love him, & possess him; & wouldst thou inherit that peace, & joy that he giveth them; Castaway all that is not of him. Love his likenes; embrace his holy example; be faithful to ye manifestations of his light, & that daily; & thou wilt be redeem'd out of that, to w^{ch} god revealeth his judg^{mts} ag^t ye world. For I must testify to thee, & y^t in god's fear & counsel, thou canst never see, know & taste that, which thou desirest after till thou hast deserted & relinquisht, w^t grieveth him. This is gods way.

Therefore dally not; but let it all go for ye sake of ye Joy and glory that is set before thee. O that thou hadst but once broke through ye Impediments I see before thee! & truly, faithfulness quickly doth it.

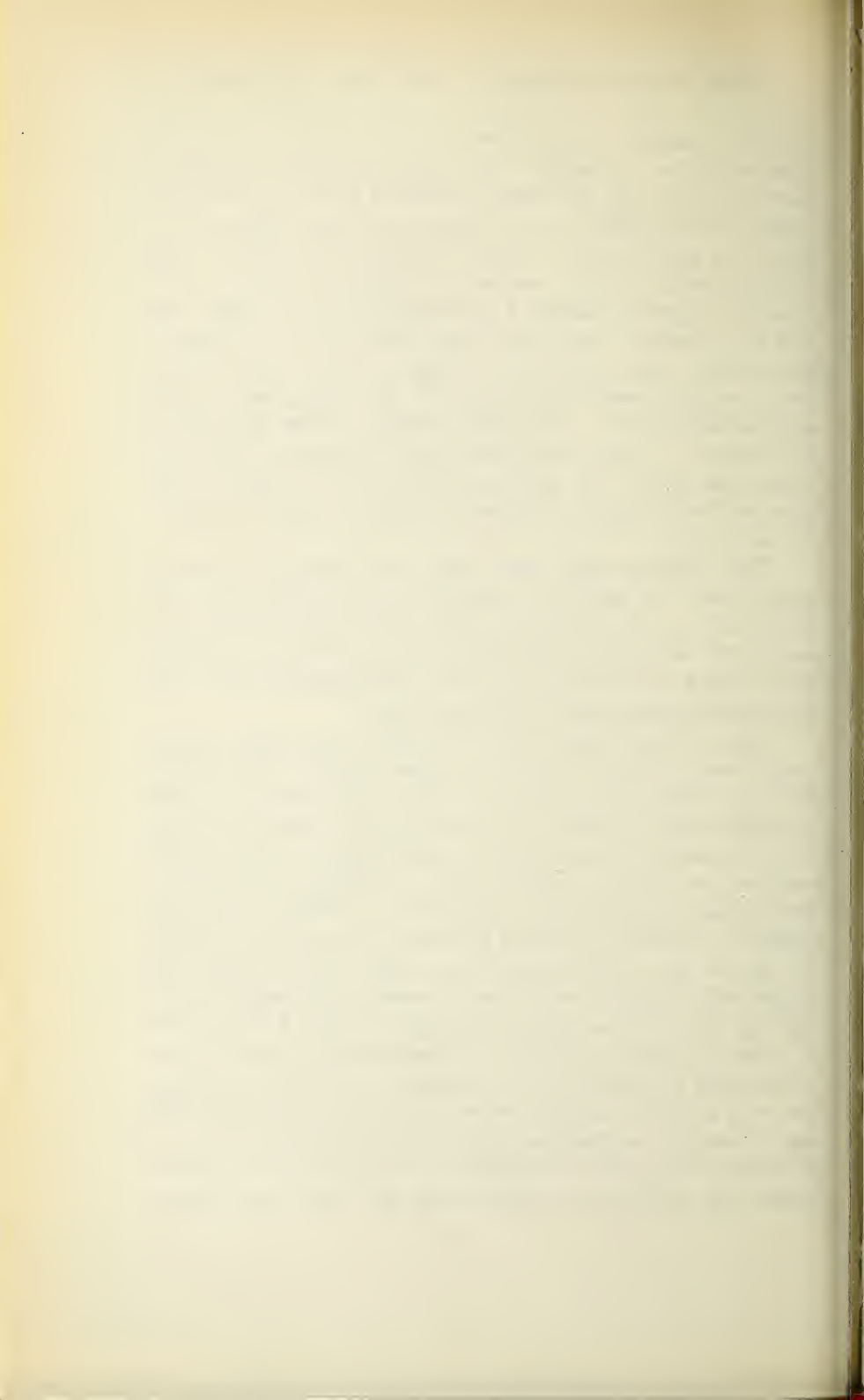
Bear with me my Dear ffriend; for my soul is deeply affected



with thy condition. I love thee, I honour thee; but I must be plain with thee. I confess I have been rejoyced in ye visits I have made thee, yea, abundantly comforted from ye Lord: for his power hath been with us, & y^e hearts have been sensible of it; & that is our great reward: Because it's our meat & drink to do his will that sent us. And I must say y^t I left you all both times with dear love & great pleasure, & ye blessings of ye allmighty upon thee & thy house. Yet before I had been 3 hours in y^e waggon, that weight, burden, & exercise fell upon me, w^{ch} I remember not that I ever felt since I knew ye Lord. My spirits sad, my poor soul exceeding heavy: all comfort seemed to leave me, & joy to fly from me. I was as man drunk with sorrows, & I did even sweat with pains. My brethren took notice of a great weight upon me; but I kept my troubles to myself; & hid my travails in my own bosom.

This remain'd many hours upon me: I cryed: O Lord, w^t have I done? w^t have I left undone? why is this heaviness befallen me? o my god; stay my soul in thy word; & show me ye end of this bitter cup: that if thou hast any work for me to do, thou wouldst be pleased to shew it me: & be but with me, & I will go with chearfulness, let w^t will come of me.

Then ye Lord open'd his will in this exercise unto me, & I clearly saw, ye cause & end of y^{tt}, great weight, y^t lay upon my soul, was, that nothing might be lost that I left behind me; & that you might never go back, nor ye enemy by his subtile temptations shipwreck any of y^t love & faith, y^t god's divine word had quickened in your hearts. I beheld Satan as lightning descending in divers shapes & appearances; sometimes as religious, sometimes prudent, to insinuate, captivate & deceive you; who is that Spiritual Herod, that would murder that, which is born of god; that dragon, who would devour it; yea, ye sense of his designs & workings ag^t that life, that god hath begotten in you; & ye holy fear y^t seized my soul, lest he should be permitted to prevail, & any of you loose that tender love & sense, w^{ch} we left you in, cast me into such an Agony, that this know, o Princess, if ever my mother was in pain for me, then was my soul in deep distress for you. O ye beating of my heart, & wrestlings of my bowels! & ye earnest & strong crys of my life to god through him, that sweat drops of



blood for me, that all ye devices of ye evil one might be discovered, & all his darts quenched by ye true light of Jesus in all y^r consciences (ye holy blessed armour of ye saints of old.) Then did y^e Lord distinctly show me y^r states & conditions how it stood with you, & how & where he would assault you; w^{ch} increased my holy care, concerns & Travail for you. I wished in my soul, o that I had but enjoyed one day more with you! but gods time is not our time, & to his providence I submit; whose I am in the service of an everlasting gospel.

By this time we were got well to Wesel, & my soul was somew^t dased, yet it lay upon me to write to thee, & declare, w^t the Lord had give me to understand of thy present condition; & w^t counsel he had give me in charge for thee, as thy case stood separate, & distinct from ye rest, with respect to thy worldly circumstances: w^{ch} with unfeigned respect, holy love, & Christian faithfulness I here present unto thee: intreating thee, that it would please thee to read it & weigh it in ye tender, lowly & sensible frame of spirit, in w^{ch} I left thee.

Consider with X^{ts} light, & lay to heart, O princess, as thou wouldst give an Accompt with joy to god at ye great day of his terrible tribunal, who will not be mocked; but judge all ye people according to ye deeds done in ye body, If thy present publique station & capacity in ye world be altogether in ye way of god, & to be found & justified in & by ye light & ye truth of Christ. Hath it gods institution, or X^{ts} ordination? For all true & just power cometh from god & X^t, to whom all power in heaven & earth is given; I speak now to those things, about which we discourst ye evening we left thee. For seriously weigh, who was ye Author of ye Invention of Abbess; whose child it is; whom it resembleth; whose mark it beareth, & ye end of it? at best it is a complex of civil & ecclesiastical power not to be found in Scripture, nor pure tradition; ye offspring of a dark Apostasy. 'Tis true, ye protestants have rendered it more civil then it was; yet still it standeth on ye old foot too much, & is perplext with a religious power; & that more monstrous, then in ye days of popory. For then it signified only a feminine overseer of priests & people of one religion, a sort of spiritual pastoress, yet endowed with temporal privileges & dignity: but now a pastoress or over-



seer of divers, yea opposite, & contrary religions. And which is yet most of all strang, ye Abbess herself hath no opinion of ye religious part of her own institution: She alloweth it to be popish; & Anti-christian; a limb of ye beast; & declareth, she believeth none of those priests to be truly sent, deputed or spirited by X^t Jesus, ye great prophet & high priest of Christians; neither can she have intimate Communion with them.

O Dear Princess, Consider, how canst thou then chuse, appoint, or place such priests or ministers, as thou canst not hear, or have fellowship. with; especially, when thou knowest in thy Conscience, that ye poor people at ye same time receive them as Gospel ministers, & ye Apostles successors; *now* it is a crime in them greatly punishable, to say ye contrary. o how canst thou employ a power, thou condemnest y^e very institution of; or appoint, or consent, that ye blind should lead ye blind? Remember, w^t is not of faith, is sin.

But consider; if this doth not break ye 3^d Commandment. Thou shalt not take ye name of ye Lord thy god in vain. For thou stampst an Authority upon such priests & ministers, as thou knowest, call God & Jesus *lord* by ye holy ghost; but are vain & lifeles, yea bablers, & some of them Idolaters. And 'tis ye highest breach of that Commandment to take gods name into their mouths without gods power, life, & spirit. Yet under a pretense of being his ministers, though never sent by him but made by men, not knowing ye tribulations, of ye new birth. Next, it is expressly s^d, that Idolaters cannot inherit y^e Kingdom. if not, how can thou place Idolatrous priests or authorise their exercising of a Idolatrous office; yea blasphemous, viz: to make their god of a wafer; then worship him; and lastly eat him; cum multis alys: o sad!

Again, The steps of ye righteous are ordered by ye Lord. but was this part of ye institution of him, or can god order ye steps of any in a way, that is not of his ordaining & blessing? o they that would obtain or keep peace with ye great god, should way this thing, & have him before their eyes continually.

Furthermore, all true Christians are to do all they do to ye glory of god. But is ye chusing & Authorising of priests [sic] Idolatrous priests & man made ministers to exercise themselves under ye name of Christians priests & ministers, an Act, that bringeth glory to god; or rather, that mocketh & displeaseth god?



This sticketh deeply with me. Be pleased to consider, that w^t is not of faith, is sin; & ye mystery of faith is held in a pure conscience. Or, Thou hast faith in this, or thou hast not. If thou hast not, ye matter is at an end; unless thou wouldst live in a daily willful Transgression, as all do that act ast faith. But if thou hast faith w^t is it? ye gift of god pure, christian, from above, held in a pure conscience: if not; ye faith is as bad, as ye action. o Dear princess, let these things dwell with thee in gods love.

Yet again, they that are X^{ts} are led by ye S^{pt} of X^t; & it is no more they that live, but X^t that liveth in them & ordereth them. But can this be sayd concerning ye execution of this part of they office? Moreover is this ye way to destroy ye Image, to burn ye whores flesh, or to come out of Babilon, or testify ast ye beast & his mark? The cry of Gods blessed Angel Revel. is thus: ffear God, give Glory to his Name: for ye hour of his Judg^{mt} is come: & no more worship ye beast. o blessed are they, that hear & obey it; & bow not to ye institutions of ye beast.

Dear Princ^{ess}, The hour of gods judg^{mt} upon all these things is come, & coming. Wherefore prepare to meet thy Lord; & See that thou hast on ye wedding garment, which never waxeth old.

But further I beseech thee to consider, What a Coercion & Persecution thy Conscience lieth under, since thou art forc'd to chuse & place priests at all, as well as that thou must chuse such, as thou hast no spiritual fellowship with: yea, such as thou utterly disownest in thy own Judg^{mt}: which power of appointment is of true priests; & usurpation of Christs office, who is ye only appointer of Christian priests: And therefore this is ye Pope or Anti Christ drawn in little, that in a sense sitteth in ye place of Christ. In short, either they are Christs priests or Anti Christs priests. If Christs, let him appoint, & place, & order his own Anointed priests: for he is to go before them in all things. If antichrists priests, w^t hath a true Christian to do with them? let Anti Christ take care of his own Kingdom.

Yet again, do but please to remember, how it was sayd, That where ye spirit of ye Lord is there is liberty: & see if this do not barr ye dore ast all Christians Liberty? Let Christ send, or ye Spirit move another then he that hath y^e temporal & worldly License, & there is no room for him: mans power & ordinance hath excluded & forbidden him: Here gods word & counsel

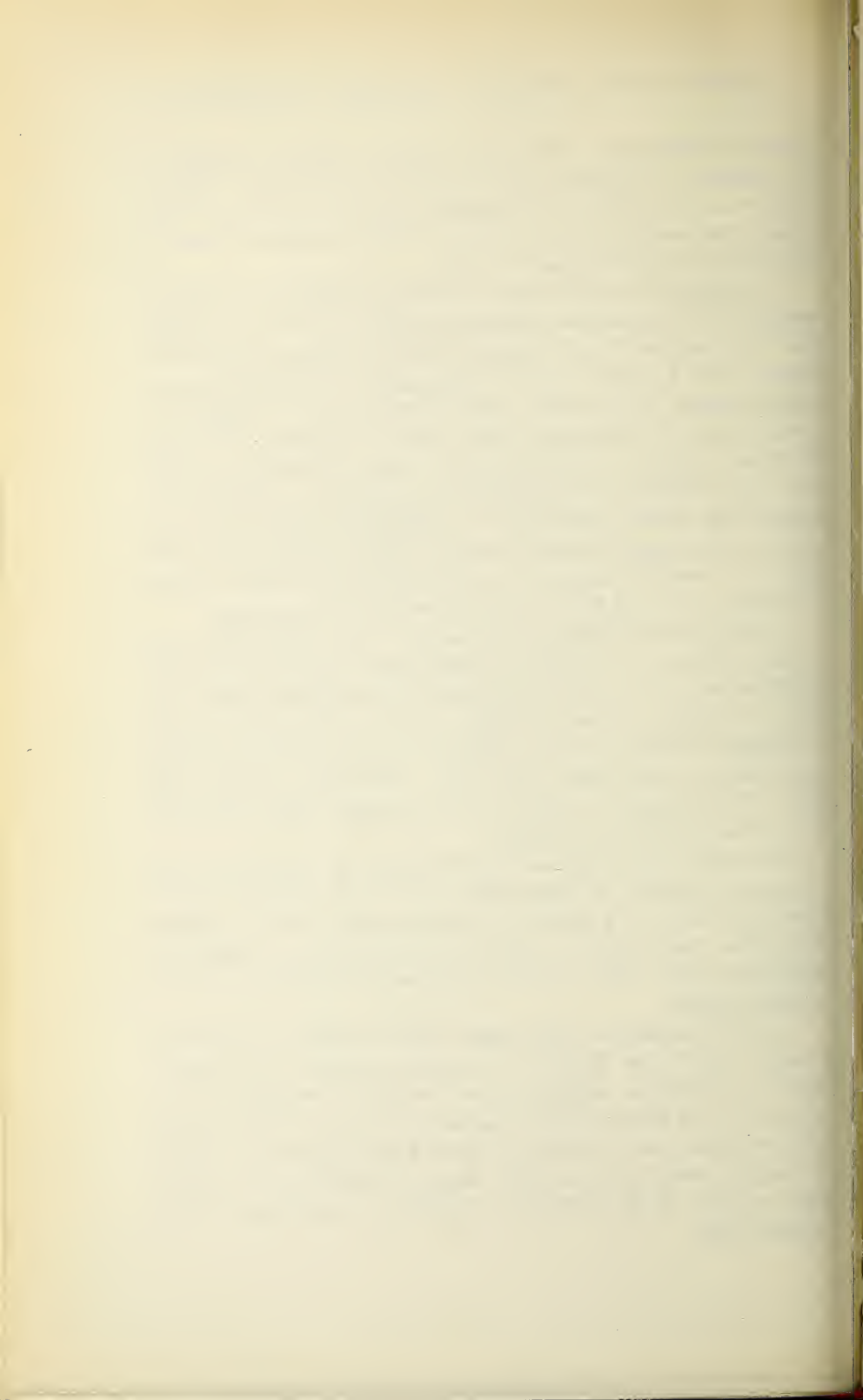
is stopt by mans law. This is ye very life, heart & strength of the Apostacy at this day: this it is, that hindereth ye rising of gods truth in ye World, & bindeth—Yea, 'tis at ye dore of this power, that must be lay'd ye blood of all ye martyrs of Jesus in all Ages since ye Revelation of John.

To which let me add, that ye necessity of having a Chaplin is another Evil Burden, that attendeth ye place. For w^t is a Chaplin? No creature of gods making; look from Genesis to ye Revelations. But a certain sort of a thing gotten in popish times betwixt Laziness & grandures, when people grew to sluggish or great to pray for themselves; then came up Chaplins for to pray for them; which is worshipping God by proxy. But is this according to ye example of holy Abraham, or Joshuah, or David, that taught their familys themselves? or suitable to the tenure of ye new & everlasting Covenant, that god would write his law in the hearts of men & women, & put his Spirit into their Inward parts, that all should know him from ye least to ye greatest.

Tell me Dear Princess, how can any mans Conscience be at anothers Dispose? That is, to speak, pray, say grace etc. at ye Appointment of any Creature living: yet thou knowest this is ye duty & practice of every chaplin. O how hath Cerimony & formality prevailed ast true & spiritual worship! Consider, if god requireth not other things from thee. Remember ye Elect Lady John writ to, that was come to ye holy unction, that teacheth all truth: take her for thy example.

But then last of all to receive money for exhibiting such Warrants, Licenses or Authoritys for a work confest to be a Limb of ye beast: to a princess of a less generous, free, & religious disposition than thyself, I should have called it ye Wages of unrighteousness: but I will leave the now, O Princess, to give it a name thyself.

Ah! w^t lamentable Work hath this dark night of Apostacy brought forth in ye World! W^t monstrous births w^t evil plants! how is ye christian simplicity lost through ye Inventions of ye evil one! But gods day will gradually discover & destroy them all & root them out of ye earth. For ye Lamb of god must reigne, his empire must be set up, & his Scepter exalted, that is a righteous scepter; & his Kingdom, Authority & priesthood, that is without End.



O how doth my Soul bow before ye god of ye whole Earth, who is ffather of lights & Spirits, & that daily, that he would more & more give unto thee ye revelation of ye Knowledge of all that is not of him: & that by his divine power he would keep thee sensible of his pure & blessed word in thy Soul, that with a noble & truly princely resolution, thou mayst cast away this offspring of ye night, & become a princely pattern of true disdain of ye Worlds vain glory, & a Noble Example of Antient Christian Resignation: that it may appear, thou art not one of the beasts followers, but ye Lambs; not inhabitant of Babilon, but a retired Traveller towards Zion ye City of gods Solemnity with thy face directed that way, walking in ye light of him, that is ye life, light, truth, way, & salvation of all nations.

Ah! help ye Lamb ag^t ye mighty, for his day is come: his trumpet has sounded, & is daily sounding a visitation to all before ye great & notable day of final Judg^{mt}. ffear O princess, & obey; & thou shalt have eternal life. And put not off thy counsel, nor thy own soul with other excuses, then w^t thou canst use with boldness before ye Lord of heaven & earth at his great Judg^{mt}; & then I am sure, this letter will be justified. And know, thy faithfulness herein will be a great stroke to ye beasts & false prophets power; yea, a forerunning of their downfall: which I testify from ye Lord, is begun & will in a little time be accomplished.

Yet mistake me not; I am not striking at ye civil power of thy office; that is independent upon ye Ecclesiastical constitution, by no means: for 'tis my present Judg^{mt}, that thou shouldst double thy diligence therein & employ it for god: that is to say; to be a terrour to Evil doers, & a praise to them that do well. That ye righteousness of true Magistracy may shine before ye World in thy diligent & just administration. Nay, thus far I could yet go with relation to the Charge of Abbess: They instituted it superstitiously: I would use it Christianly. That is; when ye priests come I would interrogate them if they were true Christian Priests, regenerated & anointed to preach ye Gospel? if they had rec^d gods living word, as ye prophets & Apostles did? & call for a proof. If ignorant hereof (as no doubt thou wilt find them) declare, that in conscience thou canst not give any consent, that such unqualified persons should exercise ye office of ministers & priests:



but if the people would chuse them they had their Liberty. This would preach, yea greatly.

Next suffer none to swear; for Christ forbiddeth it, Matth. 5 & Sam. 5. Be found in his holy doctrine. Let thy righteousness exceed ye righteousness of ye scribes & pharisees; & let truth, which has come, end all oaths; since the want of it introduced them. If thou sayst thou art sworn to other things, I answer that is no obligation: no oath ast true light & better knowledge bindeth. If thou hadst sworn always to have been a papist, Lutheran or Calvinist, what would that oath have availed ag^t gods holy manifestations? But especially an oath to maintain any part of ye beasts & false prophets mark, power, or inventions, cannot be binding on any, that desireth to follow ye Lamb. No: all such oaths & Engagements are voyd, ipso facto.

Neither let any kneel before thee for that is only done to god: it is ye worship of ye body to him; & therefore not to be given to any mortal. Nor suffer them to give thee those titles that belong to god & not to ye nature of thy office & capacity.

These things I write, that thou mayst not shun ye cross in thy employment either by continuing it in ye present extent of it, or casting it entirely off. Renounce w^t is not practicable in ye clearness of ye truth of god in thy heart; & use ye rest to good ends & purposes; that thou mayst become a pattern to other potentates, not so much to desert their power, as to convert it to righteous ends. And this I know, that thou wilt find more peace, & in ye end obtain a more glorious recompense, then can be expected from a private Retreat, & voluntary Sequestration.

Dear Princess, though y^e cup may be bitter in y^e mouth, yet is it sweet in y^e belly. Be faithful to y^e manifestation of y^e Light of Jesus in thy heart, that is not of y^e World, but leadeth out of y^e Nature & Customes of it all those, that receive it in y^e love of it, & bear y^e reproach of his holy cross without y^e camp of this world.

And if for thy tender & conscientious forbearance to practise or indulge any such unchristlike things thou art affronted or displeased, O rejoice; for great shall be thy reward in y^e Kingdom of y^e ffather.

And this I press y^e more earnestly, that it may appear to all, thou hast not deserted De Labadie & his people, to sit down short of their Attainments: but for y^e love of a more excellent way,



testimony, & service. Faint not, but be faithful to y^e light of Jesus, & y^e Ages unborn shall bless y^e Lord for thy example. Remember y^e Noble Antients, & call to mind y^e Valiants of Israel; see y^e Genealogy of y^e righteous, & read y^e royal family of heaven recorded in Scripture; He that overcometh shall inherit all things. And if thou conquerest, thou also shalt read thy name with theirs, recorded in y^e Lambs book of life. Amen.

Well, I leave this Letter to thy Serious consideration in all y^e parts of it; be cool & still in thy mind; & a plain way will be opened in thee, in which thou shalt meet with wisdom, strength & refreshment. And truly, till thou hast begun to discharge thy conscience in these matters, this was y^e word of y^e Lord God to me in my deep Travail for thee, that y^e comfort, peace, & life thou desirest, & my soul so earnestly supplicated on thy accompt, would be hid from thee.

And this I *must* do; 'tis God's certain way: I never rec'd life or comfort, or assurance any other way. Nay, to obey all present manifestations, & to watch in X^{ts} light for y^e present Assaults of y^e Enemy with [torn] fear & diligence, casting my care upon y^e Lord, a ready help in y^e needful time of trouble, was that y^e only [way] by which I came to receive power & ability to do y^e daily will of my god; & to receive his daily bread of eternal Life.

Thus have I open'd my heart, & unbosom'd my very soul to thee in that true love, & with that holy respect, w^{ch} all words are much too short to express: & god alone knoweth how it is with me on thy behalf. With that humility & tender spirit it pleas'd thee to receive & entertain us, accept this epistle; & with it my unfeigned & endeared Salutations; & please to assure thyself that in w^t Country or Region soever god shall order me, thou hast of me in y^e holy truth, that abideth forever,

A ffaithful, Constant
& Ready ffriend,

My Brethren

G. F. G K. & B. F

present thee

with their

Christian Salu-

tations.

W P.



P. S. Give me leave too add, with Relation to thy office, that now thou art coming to use it for y^e Lord; now thou beginst to see y^e Corruptions & abuse of magistrates, & religious Charges, Reform, according to Christ's light. Strike y^e carnal priests of y^e World with a dread & terrour into their very hearts, & make them bow to y^e light & Spirit of Christ & themselves. That is, open their [eyes.]

ANSWER OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO
WILLIAM PENN.*

Herford, the 29th. of October, 1677.

Dear Friend,

Your tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counsel to follow as much as lies in me; but God's grace must be assistant; as you say yourself, "he accepts nothing that does not come from him." If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he requires most,—I mean to do all in and by his Son—I shall be in no better condition than at this present. Let me feel him first governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me; but I am not able to teach others. being not "taught of God myself."

Remember my love to G[eorge] F[ox,] B[enjamin] F[urly,] G[eorge] K[ith] and dear Gertruyd. If you write no worse than your postscript, I can make a shift to read it. Do not think I go from what I spoke to you the last evening: I only stay to do it in a way that is answerable before God and man. I can say no more now, but recommend to your prayers.

Your true Friend,

ELIZABETH.

P. S. I almost forgot to tell you that my sister writes me word, she had been glad you had taken your journey by Osenburg to return to Amsterdam. There is also a Drossard of Limburgh near this place (to whom I gave an exemplar of R[cbert] B[arclay]'s] Apology) very desirous to speak with some of the Friends.

*From Janney's *Life of William Penn*, p. 136.



PACIFIC COAST QUAKERISM.

THE PART OF PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON FRIENDS IN ITS PLANTING.

RAYNER W. KELSEY.

Mary Fisher and Ann Austin came to New England in 1656, and within one hundred and fifty years Quakerism had spread westward a thousand miles to the Mississippi Valley. From the Mississippi to the Pacific coast, about twice the distance, it moved in one third the time.

There is an item of peculiar interest to Philadelphia Friends and English Friends in the story of Quaker beginnings in California. That item is connected with what was probably the first meeting held by ministers of the Society of Friends on the Pacific coast.

In the years immediately following the discovery of gold (1848) in California, Friends from various parts of the United States, and even from England, sought the new land of promise in the west. Among these were several young men by the name of Hobson from North Carolina, and two brothers, John and Thomas Bevan, who had attended Ackworth School in England and later had joined their parents in South America. These brothers were conducting a drug-store in San Francisco in 1859.

It is possible and probable that among such Friends private meetings had been held previous to the occasion to be described in this writing. Yet so far as the writer has been able to discover by considerable efforts of research, the first appointed meeting held by ministers of the Society of Friends on the Pacific coast, was in San Francisco, on First-day, Seventh month 17th, 1859. This meeting was held by ministers of London Yearly Meeting in the home of a member of Orange Street Meeting, Philadelphia.

Robert and Sarah Lindsey, ministers with a minute from London Yearly Meeting, traveled in America from 1857 to 1860, and during the last two years of that time visited California and Oregon. It was during this visit that the meeting in question was held.

In Third month, 1909, the writer had the privilege of visiting Hannah Lloyd Neall in her home in San Francisco, Cal. She was said to be over 90 years old, but in spirit and mental power she was yet young. She still claimed membership in Orange Street Meeting, and said almost archly: "I like the Friends and propose to be one always." Her husband, James Neall, was deceased. They had come to California shortly after their marriage (about 1850 as she remembered it), and it was in their home that the appointed meeting for Robert and Sarah Lindsey was held.

The meetings held by these visiting Friends were spoken of in contemporaneous newspapers as the first Friends' meetings in California, and since a tradition to the same effect still exists among California Friends, and was confirmed by Hannah Neall, the writer was especially anxious to learn more about the first meeting. Through the kindness of Elizabeth L. Galleway, daughter of Robert and Sarah Lindsey, the following description of the meeting is now available, taken from the journal of Sarah Lindsey. The writer of the journal, with her husband, had arrived in San Francisco on Seventh-day, Seventh month 16th, by ship from the Isthmus of Panama. Not a long delay ensued before their first meeting, as the following entry witnesseth:

First-day, 17th, "Arrangements having been made for us to sit with a few persons connected with our society at James Neall's this morning, twenty persons assembled. The solemnizing presence of the Lord was spread over us, and I was constrained to supplicate at His holy foot-stool. My dear husband had good service, particularly for the encouragement of some who had been mercifully visited with the day-spring from on high in the morning of life, who were invited once more to renew their covenant with Him by resigning themselves to His disposal, who could revive His own work in their hearts in the midst of the years, and enable them to put away the strange gods. Thomas Bevan supplicated in a broken manner for the Lord's blessing. I believe many of our hearts were contrited, and we had cause to set up an Ebenezer to the Lord's praise. Our company seemed to be very respectable persons from various parts of the world, who were most kindly disposed towards us poor wanderers having no certain dwelling place."



In these words what flavor of the olden days of journeyings for Truth's sake, and how clear a picture of the first meeting held by ministering Friends on the Pacific coast of America! The transcontinental journey of Quakerism was accomplished. It was just two centuries to a year since the strong arm of Massachusetts Bay had tried to halt the hated sect at the gates of the continent by the hangings on Boston Common.

ANTI-SLAVERY FRIENDS.

CHARLES F. COFFIN.

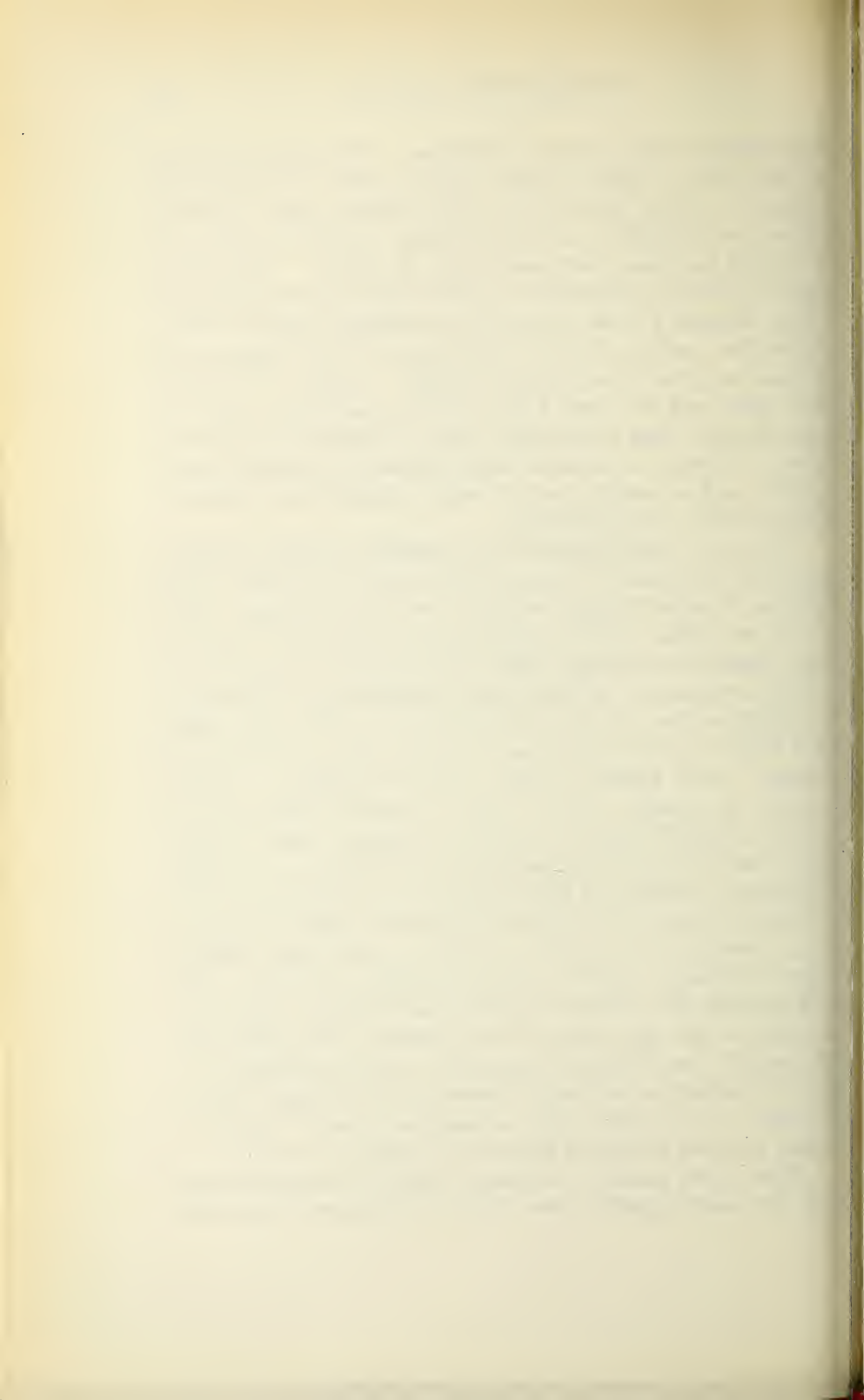
Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends was opened at Newport (now Fountain City) Second month 7th, 1843. There were a large number of Friends present who participated in this separation.* On the 6th and 7th of the Third month a meeting of the Meeting for Sufferings was held which issued an address of considerable length denying explicitly the charges that Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting were opposing the abolition of slavery, and that by its measures in countenancing and supporting slaveholders and slavery, our well-known Christian testimony against slavery is not maintained, in the place of which apathy and the fear of popular sentiment have been suffered to get possession, and lukewarmness and a want of disposition to do anything for the slave has been the consequence. Another is that the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting, in its own acts, and of the subordinate meetings in carrying out its advices, have been arbitrary, proscrip-

* The fullest account of this separation is to be found in "History of the Separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting . . . in the Winter of 1842 and 1843 on the Anti-Slavery Question . . . By Walter Edgerton, Cincinnati, 1856." This volume, written by one of the seceders, contains all the documents and correspondence, including letters and comments which appeared in the *British Friend*. See also, "History of the Friends in America, by A. C. and R. H. Thomas, fourth edition, Philadelphia, 1905, pp. 173, 174; B. Seeböhm; *Life of William Forster*, London, 1865, vol. 2, pp. 193-210; *British Friend*, 1843, vol. 1; *Irish Friend*, vol. 1, 1843; W. Hodgson, "The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century," Philadelphia, 1876, vol. 2, pp. 9-49.—EDITOR.

tive, irregular and contrary to discipline. The epistle goes on to say that this and other charges equally untrue and unfounded against the Yearly Meeting and other meetings and their committees and individuals acceptably filling responsible stations in the society have been made and widely circulated. "We think it right to take this opportunity to declare that our Society and this Yearly Meeting has not relaxed in its testimony against slavery, that on the contrary, it is the united belief of this Meeting that the testimony has been growing stronger amongst us for many years past, and that our Yearly Meeting earnestly desires to improve every right opportunity, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, to advance the cause of unconditional and universal emancipation, and to manifest on all proper occasions our testimony against slavery and oppression."

Previous to this separation, the question of slavery was agitating the whole land. Strong and able men like William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and others were by newspaper publications and public addresses attacking the system in a very vigorous manner, even going to what was considered a great extreme in their denunciation of slavery and slave-holders. The passage of a Fugitive Slave Act by Congress served to inflame the public mind further, and in various parts of the country "underground railroads" were formed to assist slaves in escaping to Canada. In short, the country was in a state of intense excitement, and Friends thought it expedient to issue an epistle in 1841, advising against the use of our meeting-houses for the purpose of holding anti-slavery meetings and delivering lectures. In doing this, however, they add that "It is far from our wish to induce on the part of our membership an apathy of feeling on the deeply afflicting subject of slavery. On the contrary we desire that all may faithfully maintain this Christian testimony and cherish a lively interest both for the oppressed and the oppressor, thus maintaining our peaceable and Christian principles in unbroken harmony, we shall, we believe, as the way is opened, more availingly build up the cause of the injured, and maintain the influence which as a Society we have heretofore had with the rulers of our land."

Most of the members of Indiana Yearly Meeting emigrated from the south, especially from North Carolina, and came away



largely on account of their hostility to slavery. A Manumission Society had been formed at New Garden, North Carolina, by some young men, who, finding it impossible to advance their cause in the South, afterwards emigrated to Indiana. Some of these joined in the anti-slavery movement and became leaders in the formation of the new society. Others of them maintained their calm, but decided hostility to slavery and remained in the old Yearly Meeting. Thus the Church became divided upon a subject on which they all agreed, and only objected to the method of carrying out their views.

An act, which would now seem to be unfortunate, took place in the Yearly Meeting in 1842 when four Friends were removed from membership in the Meeting for Sufferings because "they had become disqualified for usefulness in that body." One of these was Charles Osborn, who had for many years sat at the head of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, and was an able minister, greatly beloved by the people. This movement tended further to irritate those who afterwards formed the Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting.

After the Meeting for Sufferings had issued its epistle warning Friends against the anti-slavery separation in 1843, no further public action appears to have been taken by the Indiana Yearly Meeting, but Friends proceeded to disown many of those who had participated in the separation. This of course tended to keep up the excitement.

A newspaper was published at Newport, which was very severe and denunciatory in its language toward the leading Friends of the Yearly Meeting, and thus the excitement and feeling existing between the two bodies continued to grow and increase. The Anti-Slavery Yearly Meeting maintained itself for a number of years, until after the Civil War and the abolition of slavery, when most of its members gradually returned to the old Society. Some, however, maintained their position to the end and refused to do so. The members of the Indiana Yearly Meeting had by this time become very kindly disposed toward those who had separated, and received them readily into membership without an acknowledgement of fault on their part. Thus the history of this sad separation which in the end accomplished no good, ceased to exist.



I was twenty years old at the time of the Anti-Slavery separation, not old enough to be an active participant in the business of the Church, but old enough to realize fully what was going on, and to have very decided impressions in regard to it. I was especially struck with the bitterness with which the Anti-Slavery people attacked the members of the Old Church, through their newspapers at Newport.

My father, Elijah Coffin, was Clerk of the Yearly Meeting and bore the brunt of these attacks, although he was always a strong Anti-Slavery man. Other leading friends were also constantly attacked.

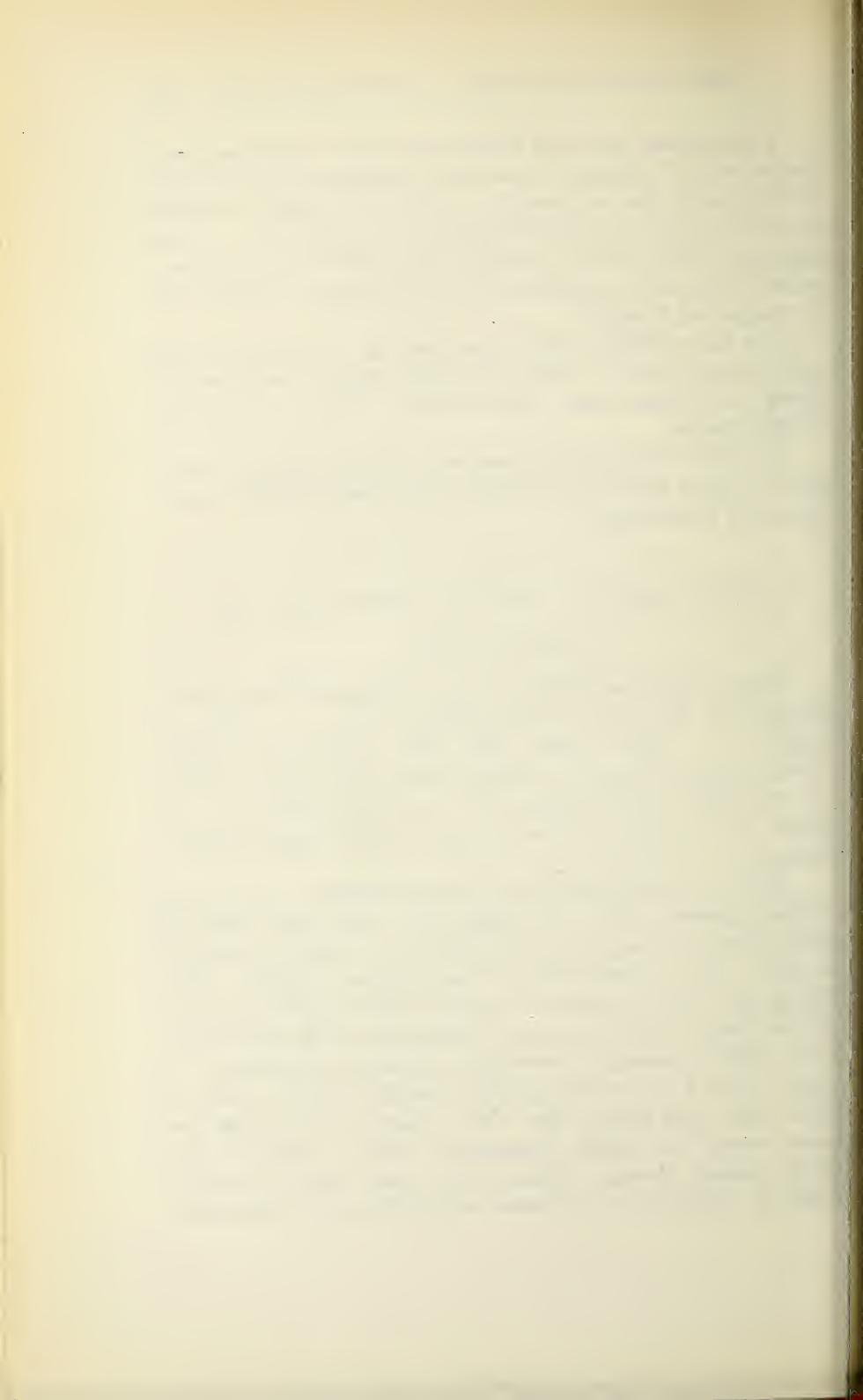
The Civil War, and the consequent ending of slavery, terminated to a great extent this bitterness and all parties finally became reconciled to each other.

ANNE GARGILL'S VISIT TO PORTUGAL, 1655.

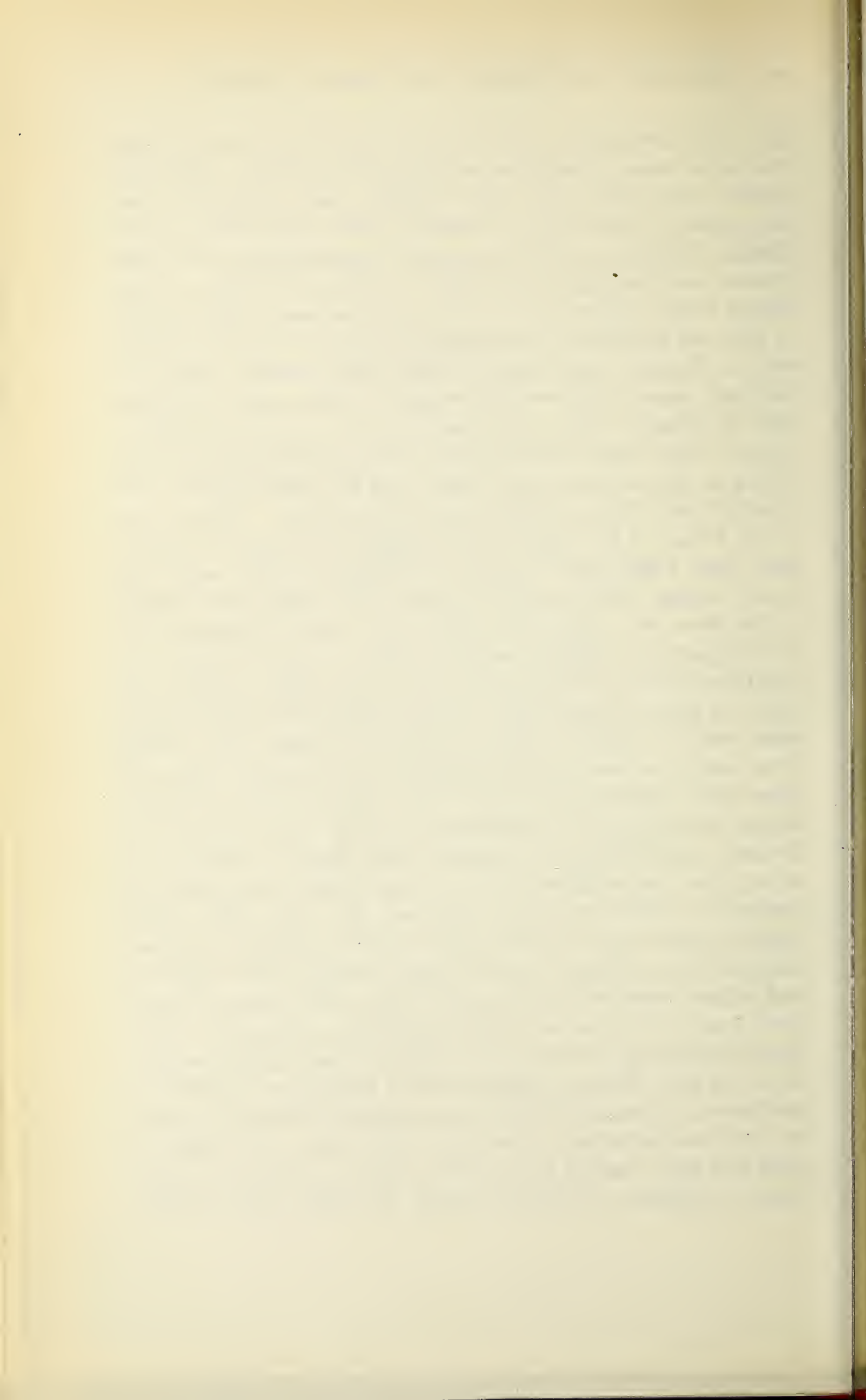
MARY G. SWIFT.

In the recently published Cambridge Edition of George Fox's Journal, Vol. II, p. 326, it is stated that, "Alsoe . . . this yeere [1655] . . . Anne Gargill past over seas Into Portugall." Among Norman Penney's valuable notes to the Journal, there is one relating to this paragraph, No. 3, p. 468, which says, "No further account has been found of the visit of Anne Gargill to Portugal."

From an unexpected channel there is however a somewhat detailed account, which was written but a few years after this extraordinary journey was accomplished, and was first published in 1661. It is in Part First of "New England Judged." Here Bishop, by way of invidious comparison between the cruel officials of Boston and the courteous Portuguese of the Inquisition! gives quite a coloring of pomp and ceremony to the event. He says: "Shall I yet cut through the Streights, from the one end to the other, and pass it also to the Kingdom of Portugal, and there attempt the Popish Inquisition? There I shall find Ann Gargil passing through Lisbon (where she arrived from Plymouth in England) to the Palace of the King, there looking for



him, and meeting there an Irish Jesuit, who told her the King was not at home; I shall find her discoursing with him, and other Jesuits and People about their Religion; and returning to the Ship, where I shall find her writing a Paper, and giving it to an English-Merchant; and the Inquisition commanding it out of his Hands, and sending for her from on Board the Ship, by the King's Chief General of his Forces by Land, and High Admiral at Sea, and his Great Chamberlain and Keeper of his Privy Seal, with an English Jesuit and the King's Boat; and the Master of the Ship, whom with her they brought on Shoar, and took them into the King's Coach, and conducted them to the Inquisition-House, a fair Palace; the said Ann Gargil and the English Jesuit sitting at the one end of the Coach, and the Chief General, and Admiral and Great Chamberlain at the other: Being come to the Palace of the Inquisition, through three Guards, as aforesaid, there I shall find Twenty Five Bishops (as they were said to be) sitting, Twelve on the one side of the Table, and Twelve on the other, in a large Room, with three corner's Caps, and one at the upper end with Six, and more richly arrayed than the rest, and three Chairs set at the other end of the Table, for the said Ann, the Master of the Ship, and the English Jesuit; Who being come into the Room, I shall find the said Twenty Five arising from their Seats, and standing with their Caps in their Hands, till upon their beckoning, the said Three were set down; and then sitting down also, and examining her of her Age, Nation and Business, and bidding her speak her Mind freely in what she had to say; for that whatsoever she said, she should not receive any Prejudice.—Which when she answered, and had spoken freely what she had to say from the Lord, and with Boldness, and they had took it in writing, I shall find them reading to her what they had written from her Mouth, and the Paper which she had before given into the Hand of an English Merchant, as aforesaid, which from him they had received, in which she had declared against them and their Idolatry, and called them Babylon and Antichrist; and having demanded whether she owned the Things there written and read unto her? And she owning them very Boldly, I shall find them causing her, and the Master of the Ship and the Jesuit to withdraw; which they doing, and being called in again,



I shall find them tendring to her a Paper to sign, to this effect (sc.)—not to come on Shoar again to that place, or to Discourse with any of that Nation; which she refusing, or to promise any such thing, they dismissed her and the Master (after they had been there the space of two Hours) and the said Great Officers of State taking them into the Coach again, conducting them to the River's side, giving a Charge to a Water-man to convey them to the Ship again, and defraying the Charge: to the Praise of their Moderation, and your Confusion." "New-England Judged," 1703 Edition, pp. 26-28.

The "Paper" referred to above was probably the same, or similar to her Tract printed in London the following year, 1656, and entitled,—*"A Brief Discovery of that which is Called the Popish Religion, &c. Given forth by me whom am called of the World,—A. Gargill. Printed for Giles Calvert at the black spread Eagle near the West end of Pauls, 1656."*

Whether these marked attentions which she received in Portugal, induced the self-exaltation which resulted in her "disownment by Friends," we cannot know. Certain it is that not long after her return, she "went off into ranterism."*

Millbrook, N. Y. 29, 1. 1912.

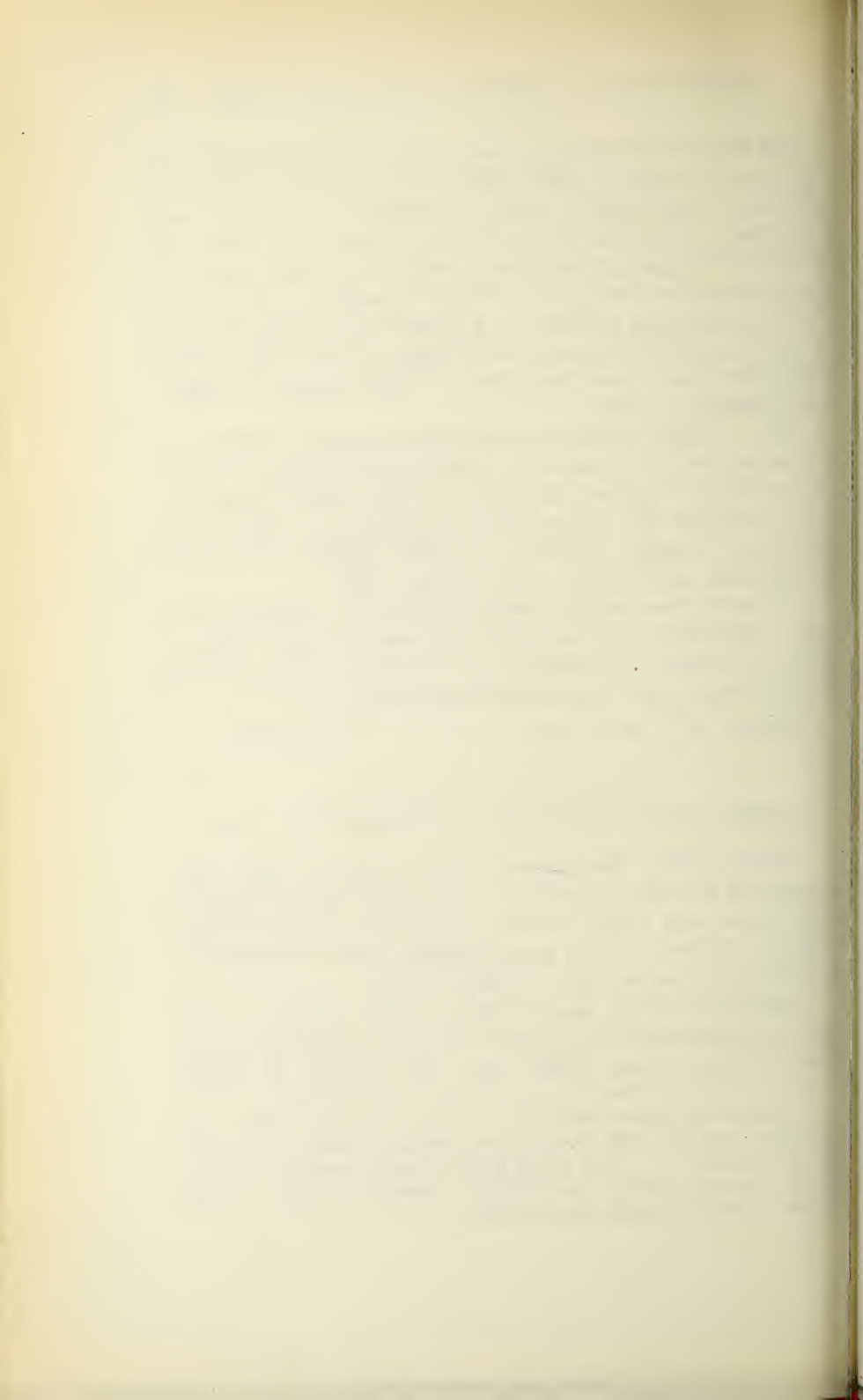
M. G. SWIFT.

ANNE GARGILL'S VISIT TO HOLLAND IN 1657.

William Sewel, the Quaker historian, in his History published more than sixty years later (1718-1722) thus describes his impressions when a lad of seven years old, of the visit of Anne Gargill to Holland. It is a pathetic picture of the misguided enthusiasm of an overwrought, unbalanced mind.

Sewel says, under date of 1657,—*"He,"* [William Caton] *"came to Amsterdam in due time to stop the unruliness of some froward spirits, among which one Anne Garghil, an English*

* Replying to Leslie's Snake in the Grass, Dr. Daniel Phillips says, speaking of the year 1655, "As to Ann Gargil, she was a Ranter, and reputed as such . . . yet would intrude herself sometimes into our Friends company, till she was publicly disowned by them. *Vindicia Veritatis*, London, 1703, pp. 40-41.—EDITOR



woman, was not one of the least: whose rudeness grew in time to that degree, that she would not suffer William Ames to preach peaceably in the meeting, but laid violent hands on him: so that at length to be rid of her, he bade an English seaman that was present, to take her away, which was done accordingly: and how haughty she was, and continued, I well remember still." Sewel's History, p. 168, London, 1722 (folio edition). M. G. S.

NOTE.—Joseph Smith, in his Catalogue of Friends' Books, gives only two titles under "Anne Gargill, of London." Both appeared after her "disownment," according to Dr. Daniel Phillips' statement. These two tracts are brief, the one already referred to containing 30 pp. and the other but 5 pp., both small quarto in size, and bearing the imprint of Giles Calvert, who printed many tracts and books for the early Friends, though it does not appear he was a Friend himself (see Bulletin F. H. S. vol. 2, pp. 74-75). Interesting papers regarding the arrest and imprisonment of both Giles Calvert, and wife Elizabeth, for printing publishing and selling "seditious books, etc.," are to be found in "Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends, second series, 1658 to 1664, 1911." Supplement No. 9 to Journal of the Friends' Historical Society.

A sentence or two from Anne Gargill's "Brief Discovery" etc., will indicate how she "went off into Ranterism." "You have builded Temples, and worshipped Idols: You are lyers, you worship a Den of thieves. You have stolen your prerogative from the Devill, the father of lyers, and you are subject to him who is a prince of darkness," p. 6. "Unto thee that calls thyself Bishop of Rome, thy Bishoprick is of the devill, the devill is the author, and finisher of thy authority; where is thy authority gathered? from out of the pit it came and thither shall it return," p. 36. There is language even stronger than this, but these sentences are sufficient to show the character of the tract. It should be remembered, however, that such language was not uncommon in that day, and many examples could be culled from the non-Quaker contemporary literature. The second tract has an unusually brief title, "A Warning to all the World, by Anne Gargill, London, printed for Giles Calvert, at the black spread-eagle, near the west end of Pauls, 1656," p. 5. The language in this is comparatively mild and would not excite special comment. Both these rare tracts are in the William H. Jenks Collection, Library of Haverford College.—EDITOR.

"THE QUAKERS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES,"
BY RUFUS M. JONES AND OTHERS.

AUGUSTINE JONES.

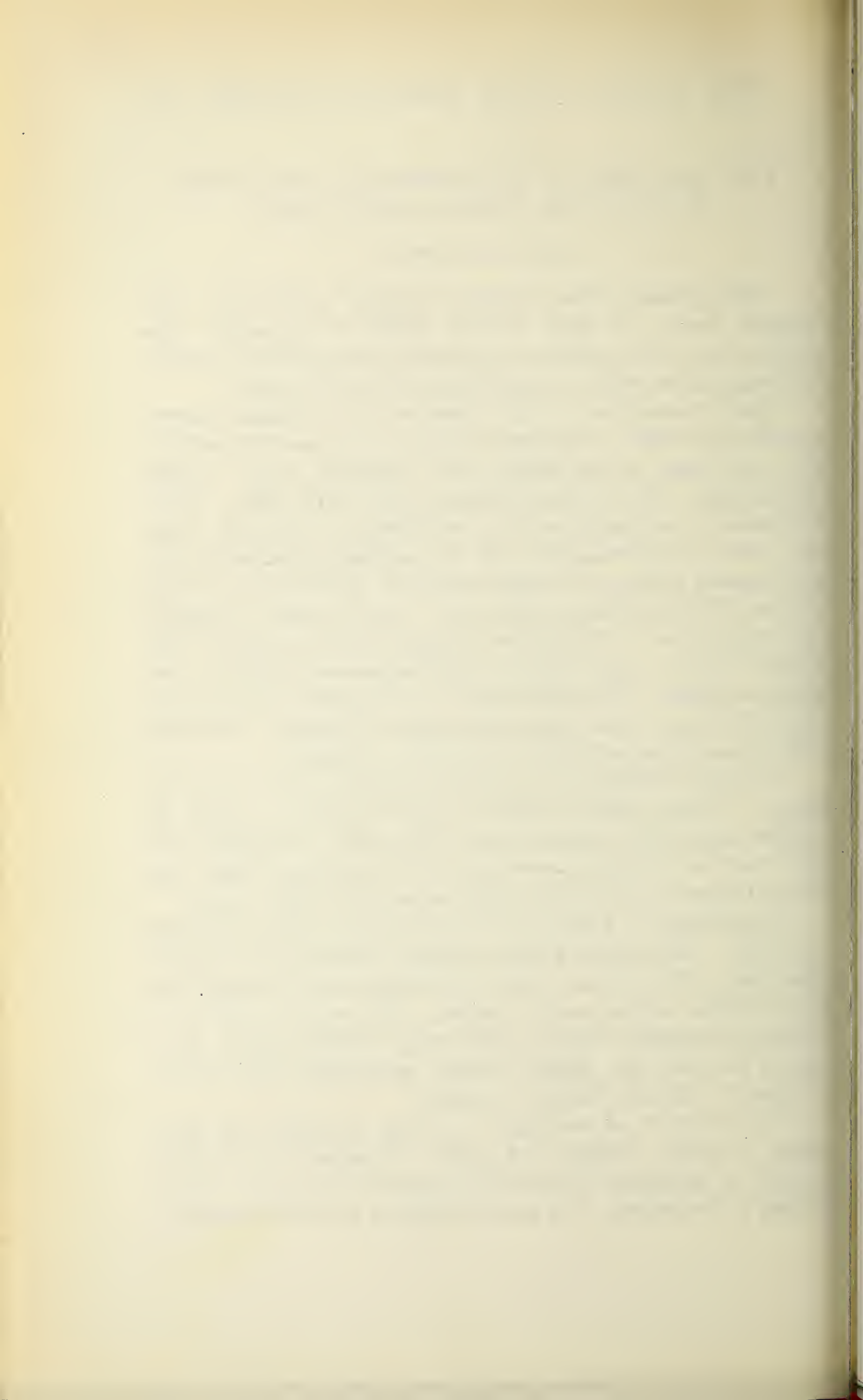
"The Quakers in the American Colonies" is by far the most complete history of these Friends which has appeared. One wonders how such otherwise busy persons have gathered so much, and wrought the whole so rapidly into this excellent book.

The Introduction is a full epitome of the brilliant conceptions of this author. It penetrates to the core, in love and admiration, the doings of the settlers. He intensely enjoys mining underground, and drawing neglected truth to the light. Their deficiencies in education are not overlooked, and what they might have been is made manifest, with the training of scholarship diffused among them, in the land of promise. But they did a work the airs of Harvard never attained to. Yet our author is correct: they needed both. The Galilean disciples had one field, St. Paul another. Every page testifies to their refinement of spirit in the school of Christ. The missionaries of the Sandwich Islands, instead of giving to those pagans the culture of the hoe, and simple gospel, dosed them with Greek and Latin, and failed.

It is most edifying to con over the residue of truth from the fathers. If their tenets at last are ground as fine as snuff, by religious unity, and scattered wide as the dust of Wickliffe, their lives lived in the truth, testimony to the indwelling Spirit, the Divine Immanence, to eternal righteousness, will abide forever.

Boswell says, "A man will turn over half a library to make one book." These authors have certainly done that, in an age of more books. No one can really write biography but the man who lived the life, and he needs watching. No persons could have written this adequate history, unless reared within the fold. Foreigners have not the vantage ground, and always grope about and fumble, Thomas Clarkson excepted.

The evolution of meetings, the quality of people and their doings, in society, religion and politics, throughout the colonies, the style of writing and flavor of the book in all quarters, leaves nothing to be desired. The moral obedience of these colonists is



exceeded by none, "to the stern daughter of the voice of God," even to the brink of martyrdom."

These eminent pioneers and leaders are an inspiring group, in this portraiture of men and deeds. The courtier, William Penn, with his vast sacrifices, and wise constructive labors, sought light from Sydney, "whose very name is a synonym of liberty," and whose writings were a text-book, in the colonies, on the principles of government. There they were, at Worminghurst, consulting about the "Holy Experiment."

Here are delineated the notable services in the colony, of James Logan, Thomas Lloyd, John Kinsey and others in Pennsylvania, both in Church and State; John Archdale in the Carolinas; Charles Lynch, member of the legislature of Virginia, who heard Patrick Henry castigate Great Britain, who also was the founder of Lynchburg; Anthony Benezet, of Pennsylvania; John Woolman, Richard Hartshorne, and John Fenwick, of New Jersey; Lady Moody, in New York; the Coddingtons, Eastons, Wantons, Walter Clarke and Stephen Hopkins, of New England. These are a few gathered from a multitude who have found a place in this history. I have not mentioned Richard Partridge, foreign agent for Rhode Island in England many years, agent Parliamentary for the London Meeting for Sufferings. He was a very successful and distinguished diplomat, for forty years. He secured the governorship of New Jersey for Jonathan Belcher, of Massachusetts.

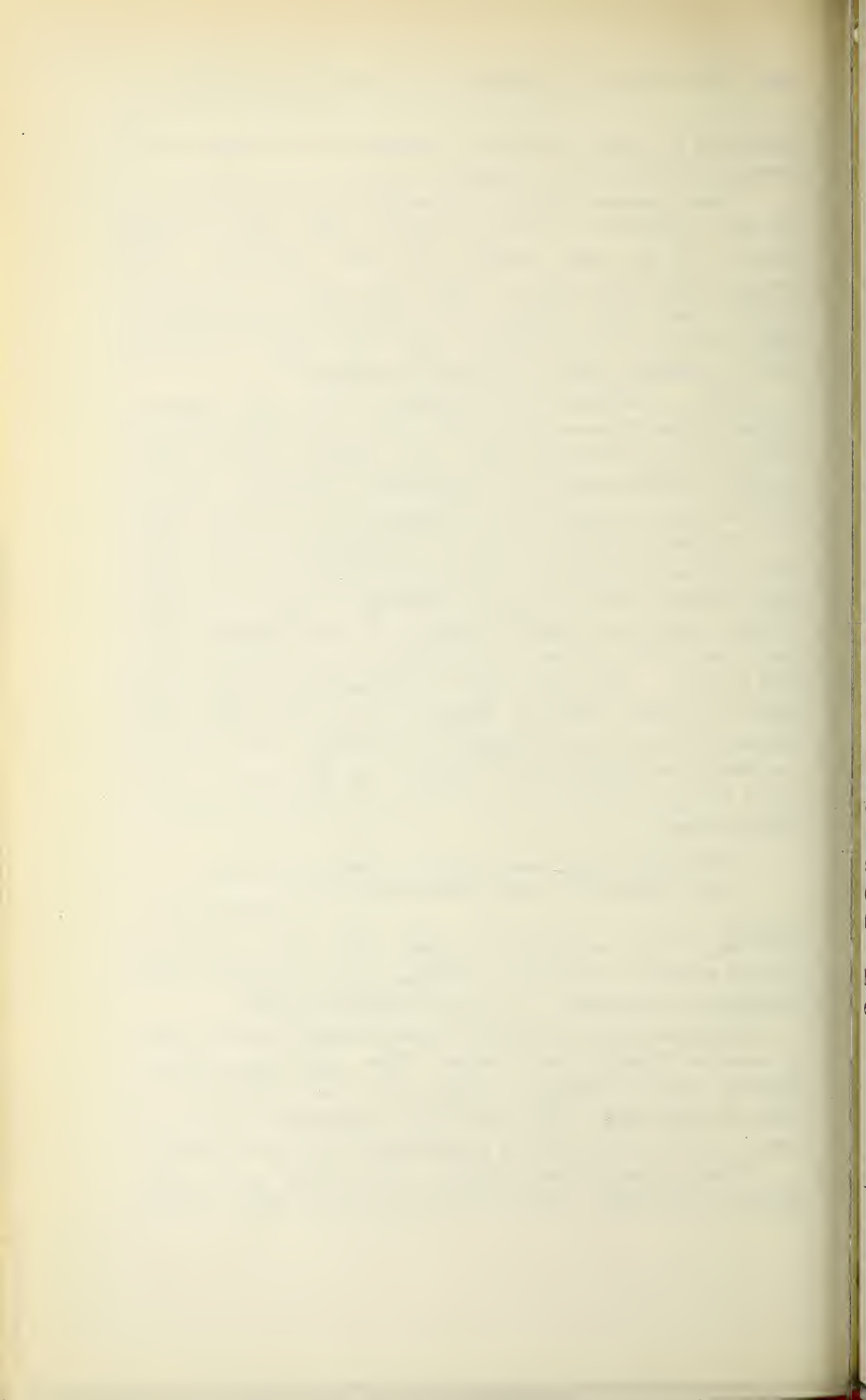
"Great men have been among us; hands that penned
And tongues that uttered wisdom better none."

—Wordsworth.

Nothing is more instructive than their faith, with the most advanced mystical conceptions, disciplined by persecutions, shown throughout the colonies. It has the Apostolic quality.

It appears in the conflict for human freedom and soul liberty. It shone in Woolman and Benezet. They went from meeting to meeting, and with tongue and pen awoke minds darkened by the thirst for Mammon. The light finally extinguished slavery, and sent a crushing blow to it, in a widening circle over the world.

Their fellowship with Indians, who would never become Friends, is admirable. We are sorry that neither West's painting,



nor Voltaire's eulogistic words could hold fast the great treaty of Penn, with its brilliant emphasis.

The question of the loss to the Society from marrying-out is carefully considered. There were plausible reasons in the beginning for the rule, which faded as the bars between sects were removed. One young man before a committee for disregard of this rule, when questioned why he did it, said: "I have tried in vain every girl I knew within the flock, and I felt justified." The committee thought so too. They were soon both leading elders in the meeting.

The testimony against oaths has its fitting place here. Governor John A. Andrew said to the writer, "Do you know that under the constitution of Massachusetts, no one can be governor of this Commonwealth without an oath, except a Quaker! That means conflict, sacrifice, suffering, blood. I hope you will never take an oath." The affirmation and yea and nay of Scripture, and the same truthfulness in court and out are as distinctly in the spirit of Christianity now, as ever.* How many evil customs revealed their sin and weakness to these inspired teachers, for the regeneration of men.

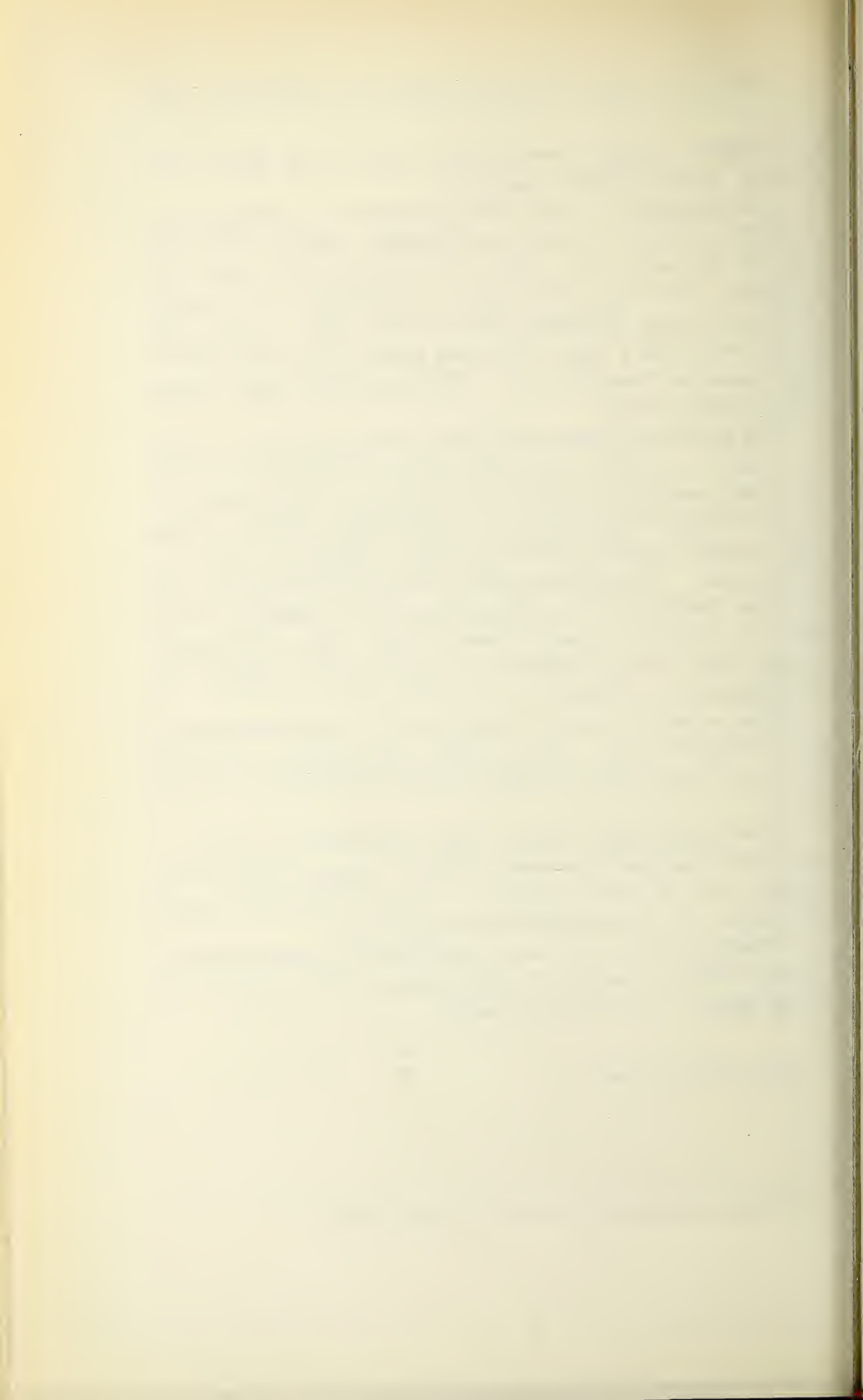
This volume is a great historic work, with priceless maps and a complete index. Every facility and avenue to the truth herein, is at hand; if the reader will only cherish the clews in his chase.

How did the fathers bring to light and practice so many unseen truths essential in the lives of men? Because they believed devoutly, like the first Christians. No vain philosophy crossed their vision and unnerved their abounding faith.

"The light that never was, on sea or land," reflected in these humble, suffering teachers of righteousness, will be long read by earnest people in these luminous pages.

Newton Highlands, Mass.

* "Swear priests, and cowards, and men cautious."



BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS ISSUED IN 1911.

The year 1911 was marked by the publication of an unusually large number of works by or relating to Friends. Indeed it has been many years since so many works of this class have appeared. This fact certainly indicates an increased interest in matters relating to Friends.

The Journal of George Fox. Edited from the Mss. By Norman Penney, F. S. A., with an Introduction by T. Edmund Harvey, Member of Parliament for West Leeds. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1911. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xliii, 470, 530. Two Portraits and Facsimiles. 21/. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co. \$6.50.

This is the long-looked-for verbatim et literatim reprint of the Journal of George Fox. The interesting and illuminating Notes of Norman Penney add very greatly to the value of the volumes, and it may be said are absolutely needful to a clear understanding of them. No one who has not worked in the same or in similar fields, can have any adequate idea of the amount of labor involved in the collection of material for such notes, and in the sifting of evidence. The judicious editing is everywhere apparent, and the editor is to be heartily congratulated upon the result. It would be difficult to find anywhere better work of this kind. So many notices of this edition have already appeared in other periodicals that it is sufficient to say that while the old spelling and punctuation may repel some casual readers, this edition is indispensable for the student of early Quakerism. Great praise is due the Cambridge University Press for undertaking the publishing, and for the excellent mechanical execution of the volumes.

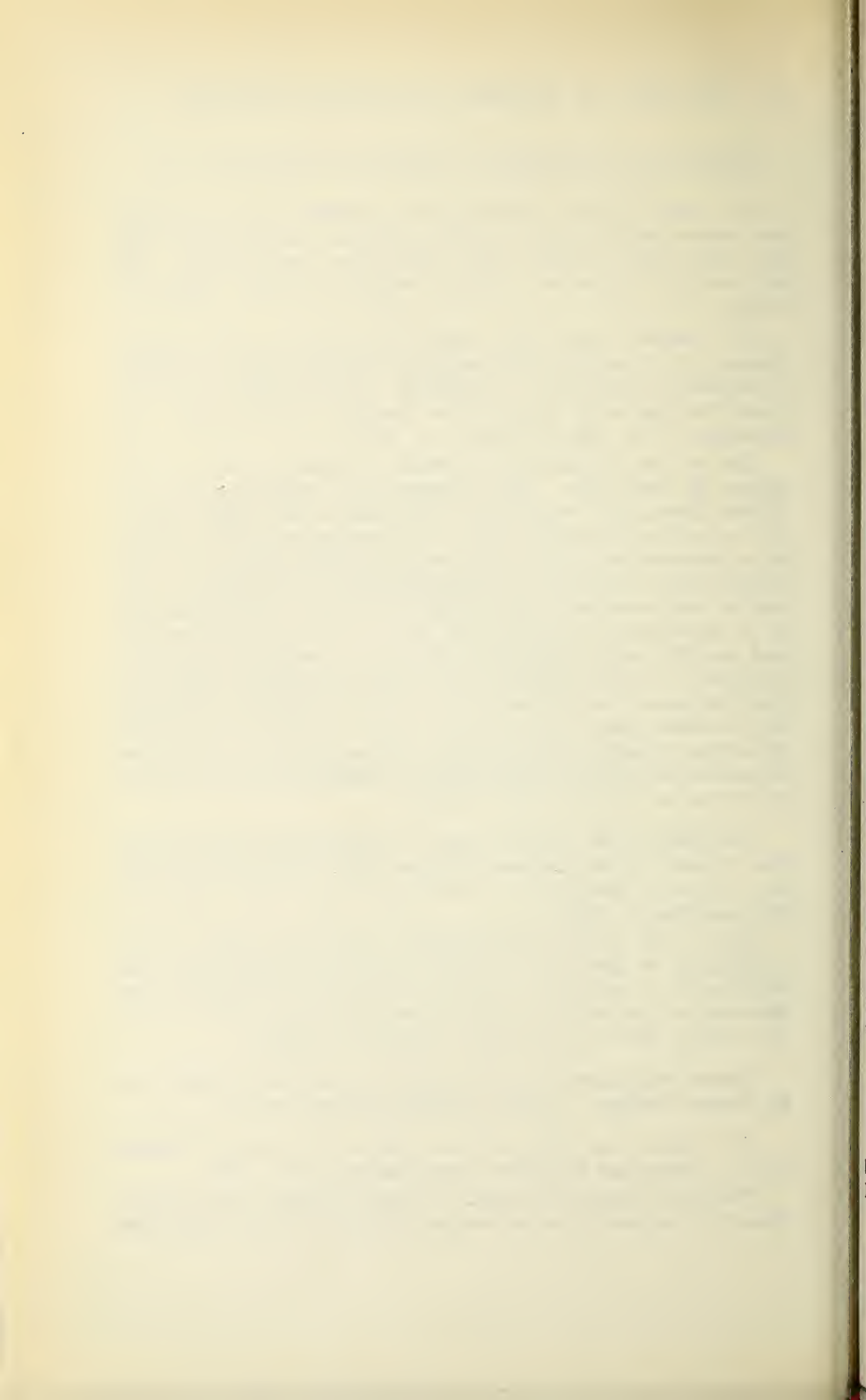
The Quakers in the American Colonies. By Professor Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt. Assisted by Isaac Sharpless, D.Sc., and Amelia M. Gummere. London: Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1911, 800 pp. 12/. New York: The Macmillan Co., \$3.50.

Next to the Journal of George Fox, noted above, this and the "Beginnings of Quakerism" (p. 114) are the most important works lately issued. A special notice appears elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN, so it is needful to say no more than that this volume will at once take its place as the standard work on the subject.

Human Progress and the Inward Light. The Swarthmore Lecture, 1911. By Thomas Hodgkin. London: Headley Brothers, 1911. 1/.

The Trial of our Faith, and other Essays. By Thomas Hodgkin, D.C.L. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1911. 7/6.

These two works by the *Doyen* of English historians, who is also a Friend, are marked by all the excellent qualities of their distinguished



author. The twelve essays and addresses, written during the past forty years or more, now gathered into a single volume, are well worth re-publication. The variety of subject, the breadth of view, and the wide knowledge revealed are worthy of admiration. The author, now in his eighty-first year, must surely regard with satisfaction his well-earned reputation as a scholar and historian. To a smaller circle the beauty and sympathy of his Christian faith as revealed in these essays gives to this reputation an additional charm. While all are pervaded by the spirit of Quakerism the pre-eminently Quaker essays are those on George Fox, and James Parnell. The words of a recent English review are so applicable that they are here quoted: "It is a book to read rather than to read about, and a reviewer can do no more than say he has found it in a high degree stimulating and interesting."

The Personality of God, and other Essays in Constructive Christian Thought. By Edward Grubb. London: Headley Brothers, 1911. 2/.

This small volume by the well-known editor of the *British Friend*, consists of papers originally appearing in that periodical. Doubtless many of our readers are already familiar with them. They are well worth reprinting.

"*Ueber den Ursprung des Quäkertums von Theodor Sippel.*" Printed in successive numbers of *Die Christliche Welt*, Marburg i.K., 1910. 33 pp.

This monograph concerning the origin or sources of Quakerism is an interesting study by a complete outsider. Quakerism has seemed to appeal to the German mind lately, for several monographs on the subject have appeared during the last year or two, and the *Life of Elizabeth Fry*, by Georgina K. Lewis, noticed in the last number of the *BULLETIN*, has been recently published in a German translation.

A Man in Shining Armor: the story of the Life of William Wilson, M. R. C. S. and L. R. C. P., Missionary in Madagascar, Secretary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. By A. J. and G. Crosfield. London, Headley Brothers, 1911. 12mo., 276 pp. 3/6 net.

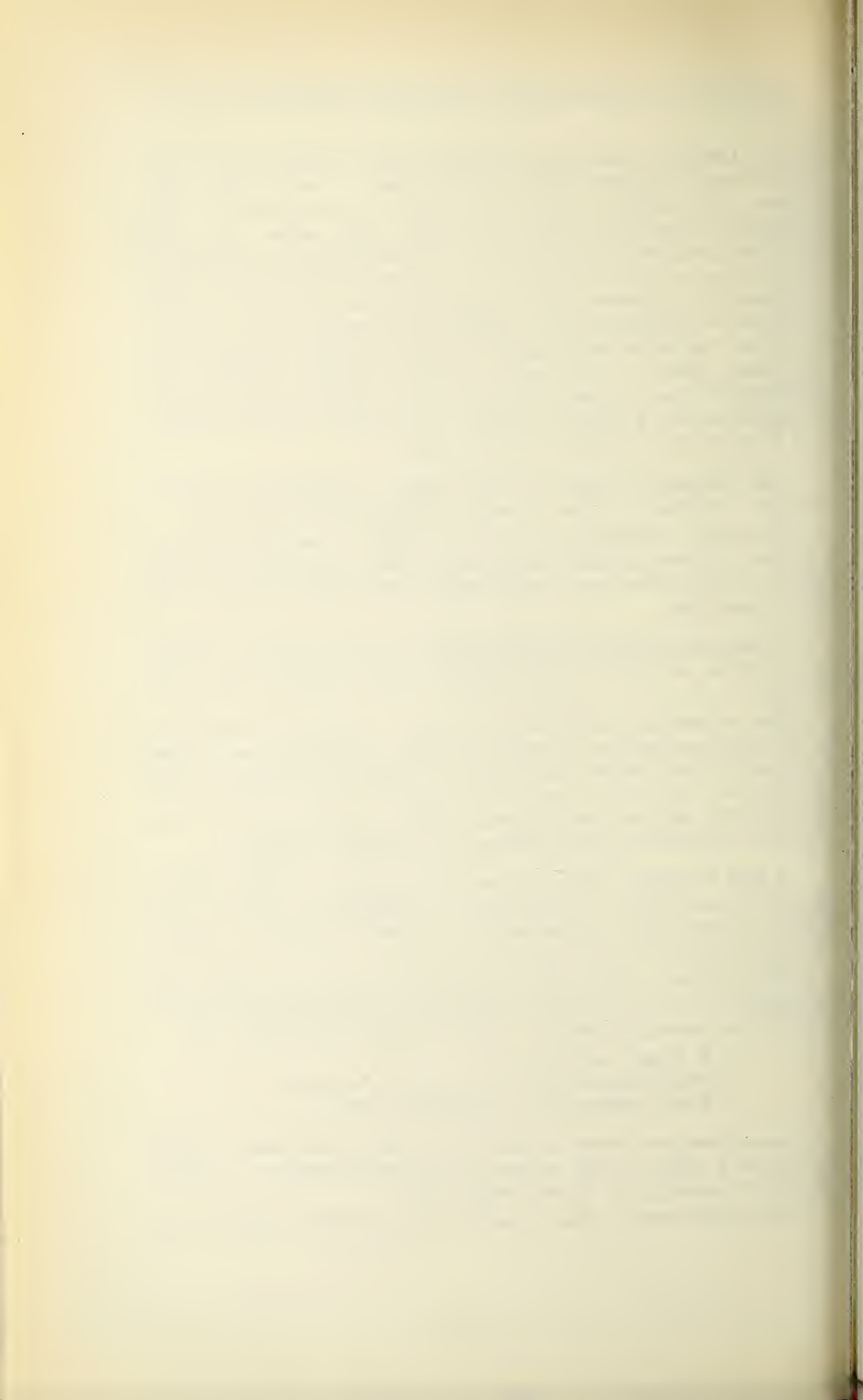
This is rather a characterization of the man and his work than a full biography. No one can read this volume and not be filled with admiration for the earnest, devoted life. He was indeed, in his chosen field,

"A happy warrior," one,

"Who comprehends his trust, and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim."

Leaves from the Journal of Joseph James Neave, with Notes. Edited by Joseph J. Green. With portraits and other illustrations. London, Headley Brothers, 1911. 16mo. 228 pp. 2/6.

It is more common than it used to be to publish a journal in the



lifetime of the author, and the reader may be glad that our friend has followed this course, but even under the care of so competent an editor, some matters of strictly personal character might have been better left out. It is a simple, attractive, brief narrative of some of the author's experiences when on religious service in the United States, Russia, Australia, and New Zealand. Some of the readers of the BULLETIN will doubtless remember our Friend in the last weeks of 1864, and early days of 1865, and the story of his remarkable experiences in Virginia and North Carolina during the last weeks of the Civil War. To such, his own narrative of these trying days will be specially attractive. In Russia he had the company of John Bellows, of Gloucester, England, whose graphic narrative of the journey forms a large part of the delightful "Memoir of John Bellows."

Simple Sketches of Christian Work and Travel. By M. A. Marriage Allen. London: Headley Brothers, 1911. 12mo., pp. 178. 2/6.

Our friend Mary Ann Marriage Allen is well known to many American Friends, who will be pleased to see these literally "simple sketches." The warm heart, the self-sacrifice, and readiness to help others, particularly the oppressed and needy ones, are very clearly revealed in these pages. The amount of ground covered, the number of places visited, the conditions examined into and aided, are remarkable. France, Ireland, North America, (several times), Japan (twice), India, Syria, Cyprus, Egypt, Macedonia, and other places, were visited. We could wish in more than one instance fuller details had been given. A little more care in revision would have prevented several slips and some slight errors of statement.

John Dillingham, 1839-1910. Teacher, Minister in the Society of Friends, Editor. By J. Henry Bartlett. Printed privately. Knickerbocker Press. New York, 1911. 12mo., pp. 190. Two portraits, and illustrations. [For sale at Friends Bookstore, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia. \$1.00, \$1.15 postpaid.]

In modern terms this is an "appreciation" rather than a biography. Long periods are untouched, and some important incidents are mentioned only when needful for explanation. This has been done skillfully, and the biographer is to be commended for his restraint. Within the limitations set himself, the author has been successful in presenting a clear picture of an unusual personality and fine character, well known to many of the readers of the BULLETIN.

Memoirs of Samuel Hoare, by his daughter Sarah, and his Widow Hannah. Also, some letters from London during the Gordon Riots. Edited by F[rancis] R. Pryor. Printed by Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, London, 1911. 4to, pp. xviii, 67, and 28 plates. 21/.

Samuel Hoare [1751-1825] was connected with the Barclays, Gurneys, Buxtons, Pryors and other Quaker families, and though the Memoirs,

written many years ago, are brief, they are interesting. The great value of this handsome volume, however, lies in the beautiful reproductions of portraits and silhouettes. These, independently of the personal interest, are valuable as showing the costumes of the period covered.

Swanwick—1911. *Being the Report of the Conference of Young Friends, held at Swanwick, from August 28th to September 4th, 1911.* Published by the Young Friends sub-Committee of the Friends Home Mission and Extension Committee. To be obtained of Headley Brothers, 140 Bishopsgate, London, E. C. Post free 1/3. 8vo., pp. 204, 9 illustrations.

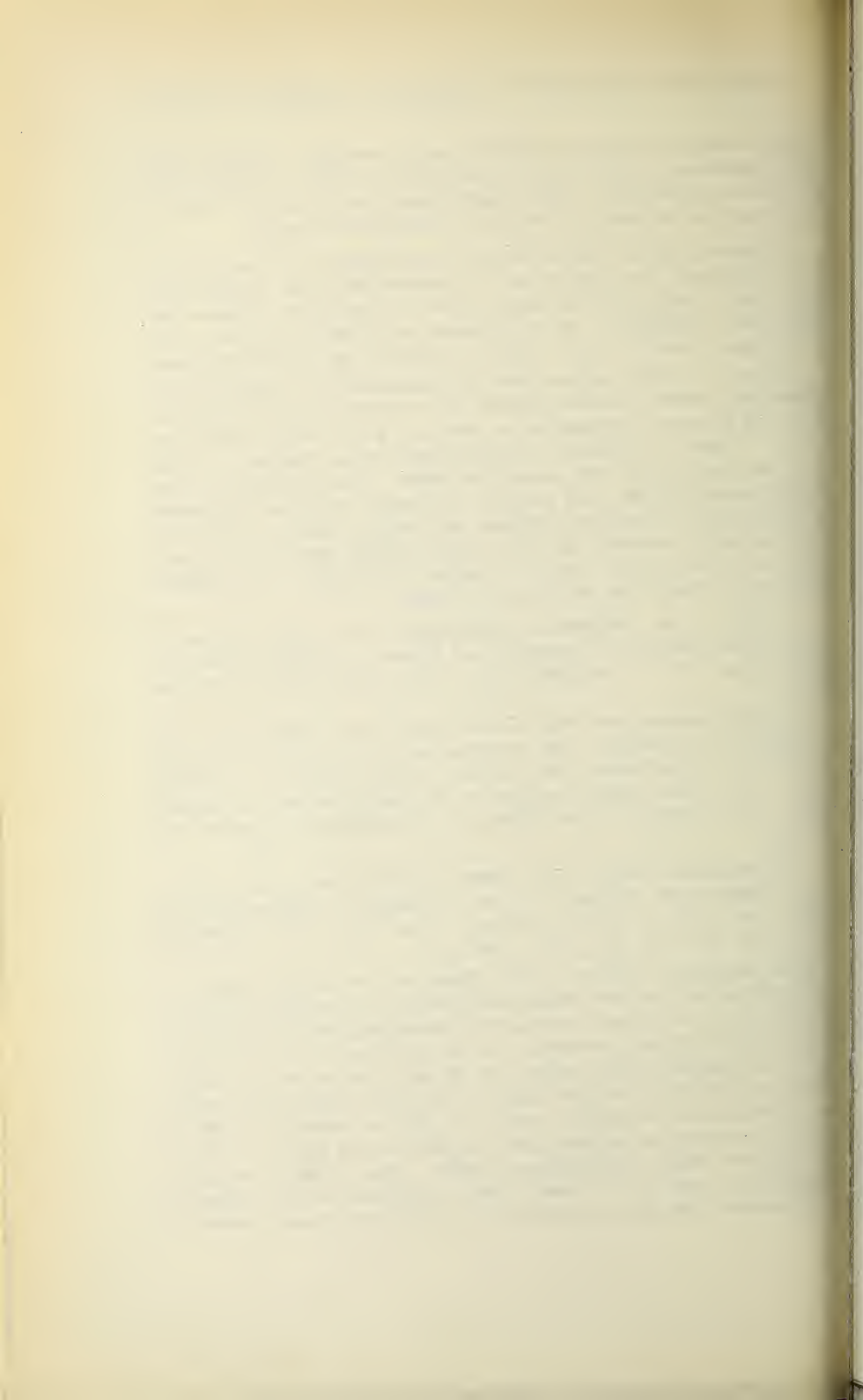
If any one wishes to know what is the spirit of the "Young Friends Movement" among English Friends of the present day, this little volume will give the information as well as any printed account can give it. That four hundred Young Friends (one hundred and fifty men, two hundred and fifty women), or rather Young Friends and those feeling young, should come together for a week to discuss and confer concerning the present-day problems and opportunities of Quakerism, and especially concerning the part young Friends should take, is certainly an historical fact worthy of record. Swanwick is in beautiful Derbyshire, about eight miles east of Matlack.

Travels in the Confederation [1783-1784]. From the German of Johann David Schoepf. Translated and Edited by Alfred J. Morrison. Philadelphia: W. J. Campbell, 1911. 2 vols., 12mo., pp. x, 426, 344. \$6.00.

It seems strange that these *Travels* should have waited more than a century for a translator. The work was well worth doing, as it is the record of a clear-headed, clear-sighted young German of scientific tastes, who visited North America for the special purpose of investigation. His account of the Quakers in Philadelphia is graphic and amusing.

The Wilderness Trail, or the Ventures and Adventures of the Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path, etc. By Charles A. Hanna, author of "The Scotch-Irish." In two volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911. Pp. xxiv, 383, vi, 457. \$10 net.

These handsome volumes, richly illustrated, are noticed chiefly to call attention to the very strong anti-Quaker bias which everywhere appears. So bitter, indeed, is the author's feeling against the Friends and their conduct of the government of Pennsylvania, that it inevitably makes a thoughtful reader wonder how far his judgment, and even statements, can be trusted on other matters. Of Scotch-Irish descent, unless we are mistaken, he glorifies—this is hardly too strong a word—his ancestry, and has no patience with the peace-loving Quakers, who in his eyes are tricky, self-righteous, selfish. The following paragraph illustrates his spirit: "At least, if not a reproach, it is a matter of great wonder that these Scotch-Irish of the Pennsylvania frontier did



not organize themselves into a lynching party . . . march to Philadelphia, and overthrow and forever destroy the Quaker government, a government which as early as 1751 had forfeited its right to existence by early inviting the sacrifice of the lives and fortunes of hundreds of its subjects, in order that the safely-protected, and over-righteous members of its little clique might escape taxation for military purposes, and better the supposed chances for the salvation of their own tiny, pinched, and self-magnified souls." Vol. I, p. 25.

The Songs and Singers of Christendom. By Frederick John Gillman, London: Headley Brothers, [1911]. Pp. 144. 2/.

This sketch of Hymnody and the great hymn writers, by one of the compilers of the "Fellowship Hymn Book," so extensively used in the Friends' Adult Schools, England, is a pleasantly-written, attractive little book, worthy of great commendation.

Friends' Year-Book, 1912. London: Headley Brothers. 1/.

This is the fourth year of issue of this valuable handbook; it is useful not only for members of London Yearly Meeting, for whom it is primarily issued, but for all who are interested in the present conditions of the Society of Friends, for it contains much information concerning matters outside of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Beginnings of Quakerism. By William C. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B., President of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, near Birmingham. With Introduction by Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Philosophy, Haverford College, U. S. A. Macmillan & Co., Limited, St. Martins Street, London, 1912. 8vo, pp. xliv, 562. 12/. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$3.50.

This volume has come to hand too late for the extended review which it richly deserves, and so can only be given a comparatively brief notice. It forms the third volume in the series projected by the late John Wilhelm Rowntree; the two preceding works, "Studies in Mystical Religion," published in 1909 (see BULLETIN, vol. 3, p. 146), and and "Boehme and other Mystical Influences" (in preparation), both by Rufus M. Jones, being intended to form an introduction to the volumes devoted especially to Quakerism and its history. The fourth volume, "Quakers in the American Colonies," is noted above.

Though special periods and phases of the history of Quakerism have been treated of, as in the admirable little volume "The Rise of Quakerism," by T. Edmund Harvey, and in the "History of the Friends in America," by A. C. and R. H. Thomas, both written from the sources, and "George Fox" by Thomas Hodgkin, the essays by John Stephenson Rowntree, the striking papers by John Wilhelm Rowntree, and monographs by other writers, to all of whom the Society is greatly indebted, this work is the first to treat the subject *fully* from the modern

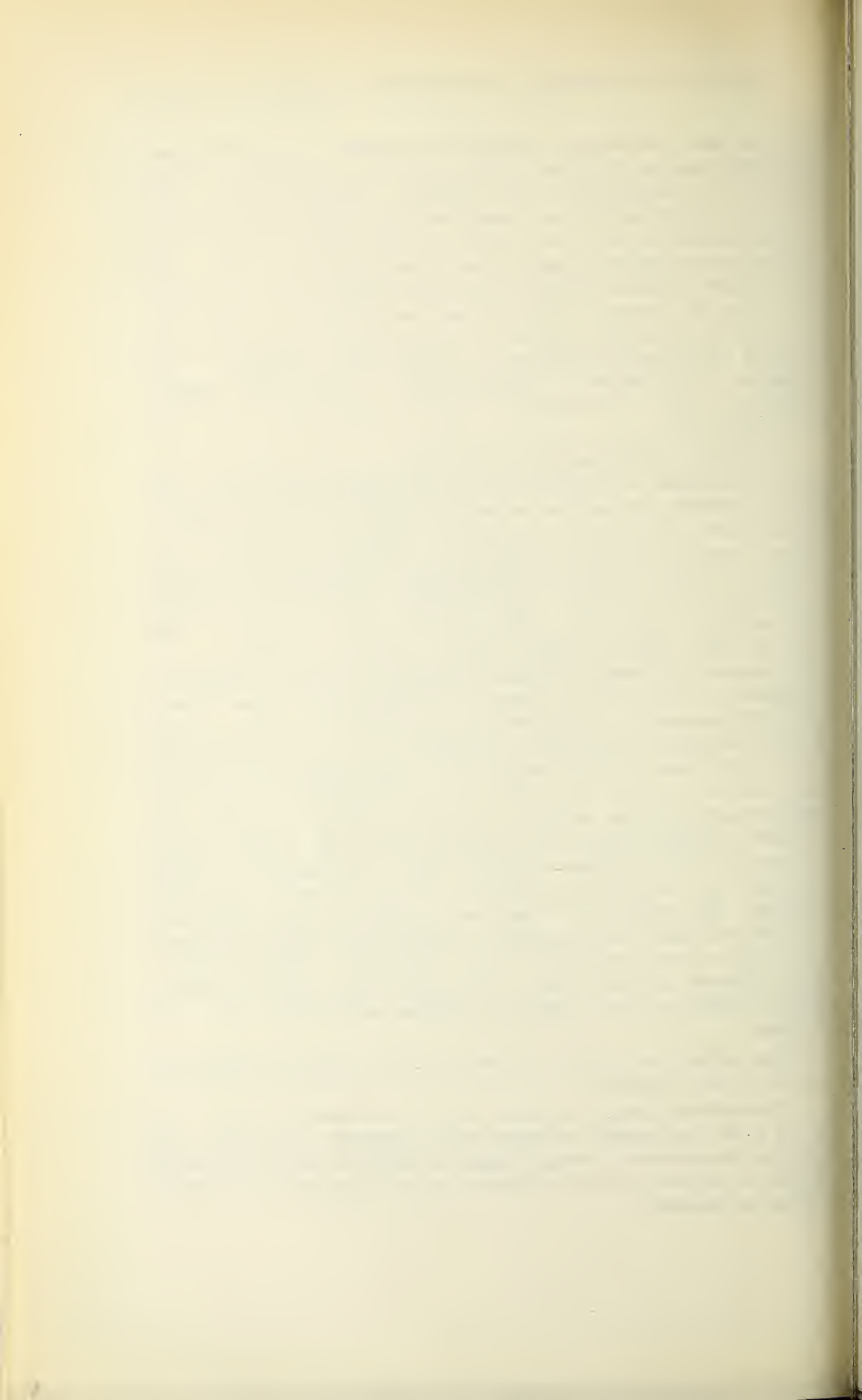


point of view, and to give a narrative based upon an extensive study of original sources of all kinds, both manuscript and printed. The volume will be indispensable to the students of Quaker History. The author's diligence and skill are unsurpassed, and everyone who wishes to gain the largest amount of information regarding the early history of the Friends without himself going to sources must consult this volume. The very fulness of detail, however, sometimes detracts from the sustained interest of the narrative. The field has been skilfully laid out, and the lines laid down followed with care. Some of the headings of his twenty chapters will indicate his plan, such as, "The Puritan Revolution," "The Founder of Quakerism," "Pioneer Work," "The Wider Outlook," "Nayler's Fall," "Controversy," "Church Organization," and "Relations with the State."

The author has taken the greatest pains to give a truthful account of the beginnings of Quakerism, and has not kept back details which, however painful they may be to modern Friends, are really needful to be told if one wishes to know the truth, and desires to understand the conditions existing at the time. That there was fanaticism among the early Friends is a fact, and must be acknowledged; that George Fox himself, in the earlier days, said and did some things which we wish he had not said and done, is also a fact, and is rightly not to be passed over. With all his deep spiritual insight and his breadth of vision he was very human, and needed time and experience to gain that clearness of judgment for which he was afterwards so distinguished. That a few of the early companions and followers of George Fox "lost their spiritual balance and became disaffected or apostate" is not to be wondered at; that Fox and many of his companions so soon perceived the danger of fanaticism, and cleared the Society of it, is immensely to their credit. Perhaps nowhere in the volume is the author's skill and judgment shown to better advantage than in his account of the most sorrowful episode of Quaker History—"James Nayler's Fall." His chapter on "Church Organization" and that on "Relations with the State," are especially valuable. The chapter on "Controversy" will give much information to those who have not personally investigated the controversial literature of the seventeenth century; and the chapters on "Itinerating Work," "The Growth of Quakerism," and "Work Beyond Seas," throw a flood of light upon the missionary activities and methods of the early Friends.

The author has fortified his statements by numerous detailed references to his authorities.

An analytical table of Contents, and a full and accurate Index (so far as it has been tested) add much to the usefulness of the book. The valuable Introduction of twenty pages by Rufus M. Jones, the general Editor of the series, written in his usual clear and attractive style, should not be overlooked.



This volume closes with 1660, and we look forward with great interest to the next volume from the same hand, which will treat of the more strictly formative and settling period.

The Vision of Faith and Other Essays. By Caroline Emilia Stephen. *With Memoirs*, by her niece, Katharine Stephen (Principal of Newnham College), and Dr. T. Hodgkin. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd. London: Headley Brothers, 1911. 12mo, pp. cxxx, 68. 3/6.

All who are familiar with "Quaker Strongholds" and "Light Arising," by the late Caroline E. Stephen, will welcome this little book. The brief memoirs, together with the "Letters," give a singularly clear presentation of the author's character, while the three brief "Essays" on "The Vision of Faith," "Divine Guidance," and "Pain," written in the admirable style of the author, are a valuable addition to that spiritual presentation of truths which touch the innermost feelings. The portraits and views add much to the interest of the volume.

Extracts from State—Papers relating to Friends. Second Series 1658-1664. London: Headley Brothers. Philadelphia: Herman Newman, 1010 Arch Street. New York: David S. Taber, 144 East 20th Street. 1911. 8vo. pp. viii, 107. 4/6. \$1.25.

This is Supplement No. 9 to the Journal of the Friends' Historical Society. Like Part I, it has very much of interest in it relating to the early history of Friends. These *Extracts* show how exceedingly suspicious the authorities were, and how often Friends suffered for trivial offences, if indeed many of them can be called offences at all. The extracts have been selected by the competent hand of Charlotte Fell Smith.

Annual Monitor for 1912. London: Headley Brothers. 16mo. pp. 213. 16 portraits. 1/6.

This is the ninety-ninth issue of this, so far as we know, unique publication. Among the thirty-two memoirs there are several of unusual interest.

History of English Nonconformity. By Henry W. Clark, vol. 1. From Wichif to the Restoration. London: Chopman & Hall, Ltd., 1911. 8oc. pp. xvii, 439. 15/.

In this volume occurs a discriminating and sympathetic, though brief, account of the early days of Quakerism.

The Quakers. A Study Historical and Critical. By Frederick Stow²⁰¹ Turner 2d Edition. London: George Allen, 1911. 12mo. pp. 448, 8 illustrations. 6/.

This is a reprint with additions of the first edition (1889). It is much to be regretted that the author has not only failed to correct errors in the early edition, but has also committed other serious errors in this. He has apparently ignored results of modern research, and his latest statistics are those of 1900.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

FRIENDS' MEETING FOR INDIANS IN THE STATE HOUSE AT PHILADELPHIA, 12TH MO., 1759.—“A conference was held with the Indians whilst I tarried here [in Philadelphia] which I was at; and Daniel Stanton and myself, with a few other friends, had a meeting with them at Philadelphia *in the State House*. After some time of waiting in silence, I had something to say, and one Isaac Still, an Indian, who could speak English, delivered the substance of what I said in the Indian language. He appeared tender and well satisfied, being a sensible sober young man.

“Tedeuscung and several of the Delaware chiefs were present, and a few of the Jersey Indians. They were solid, attentive, and behaved in a becoming manner. The meeting ended in humble prayer and supplication to Almighty God.”

Life of William Reckitt, of Lincolnshire, England. London, 1776, pp. 179, 180.

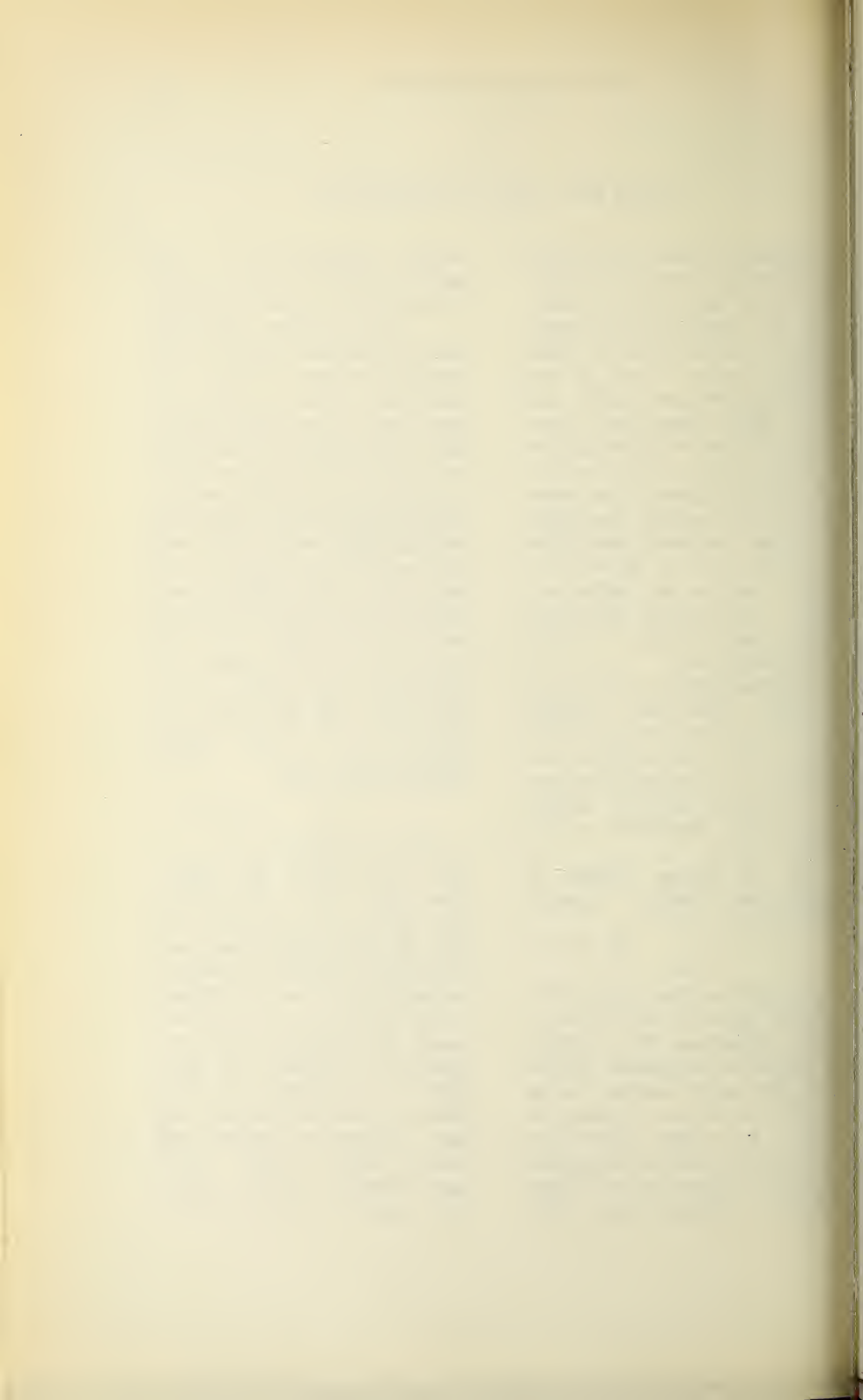
M. G. S.

ACCOUNT OF MARMADUKE STEVENSON; given by the mother of John Richardson, 1697.—“When I mentioned Marmaduke Stevenson, that good man and great sufferer in the cause of Christ, as before, my mother said it was true; for she lived a servant with Edward Wilbermoss, an honest Quaker in Skipton, where Mar-

maduke Stevenson was a day labourer, about the time he had his call to go to New England. . . . If I remember right she said, he was such a man as she never before knew, for his very countenance was a terror to them, and he had a great check upon all the family; if at any time any of the servants had been wild, or any way out of the truth, if they did but see him, or hear him coming, they were struck with fear, and were all quiet and still; and if one of the children came into the house where he laboured, and he would not have it to come, these were his words, ‘Go thy way,’ or ‘Go home, lest I whip thee’; and they were subject and quiet.” Life of John Richardson, p. 67; p. 25. Philadelphia edition, 1783.

M. G. S.

NEW YORK TO PHILADELPHIA IN 1841.—“4th Month 20th [1841]. Rose early, and at six o’clock, with our host and hostess, and other Friends who had left home on the same errand as ourselves, we took the steamer to Amboy in New Jersey. . . . At half-past seven, the company were summoned to breakfast, and about sixty of us sat down at two long tables to a handsome repast. Our fare consisted of cutlets, beef steaks, stewed oysters, shad, eggs, omelets, tea and coffee, with a great variety of hot and



cold bread and cakes; the charge to each person was half a dollar.

. . . . On reaching Amboy, we found the railway train in readiness to convey us through the State of New Jersey, to Camden, a village or small town on the Delaware, directly opposite Philadelphia; the distance between the two places being 64 miles.

. . . . At one o'clock p.m. we crossed the Delaware at Camden, and landed at Philadelphia, having performed our journey of 94 miles in seven hours, at a charge, including breakfast, of three dollars, for each passenger."

John Candler, "Letters on America." *British Friend*, vol. I, pp. 33, 34. 1843.

PHILADELPHIA TO BALTIMORE IN 1841.—"Leaving Wilmington, we proceeded onward to Baltimore, through a country abounding with pine and fir trees . . . and we met with nothing worthy of notice till we came to the mouth of the river Susquehanna, at its junction with the bay of Chesapeake. Here we crossed the water in a steamboat, and viewed the scenery on both banks of the river with delight. This is indeed an interesting spot. At Havre de Grace, on the Maryland side, a new train of carriages stood ready to receive us, and conveyed us quickly to our journey's end. The train drew up at a station three miles short of Baltimore, and the engine being detached, several teams of handsome horses, four-in-hand, and in sumptuous harness, were put to

the separate carriages; in half an hour we arrived at one of the great hotels. The distance from Philadelphia to Baltimore is 100 miles; the journey is performed in six hours; at a cost, to each passenger, of four dollars.

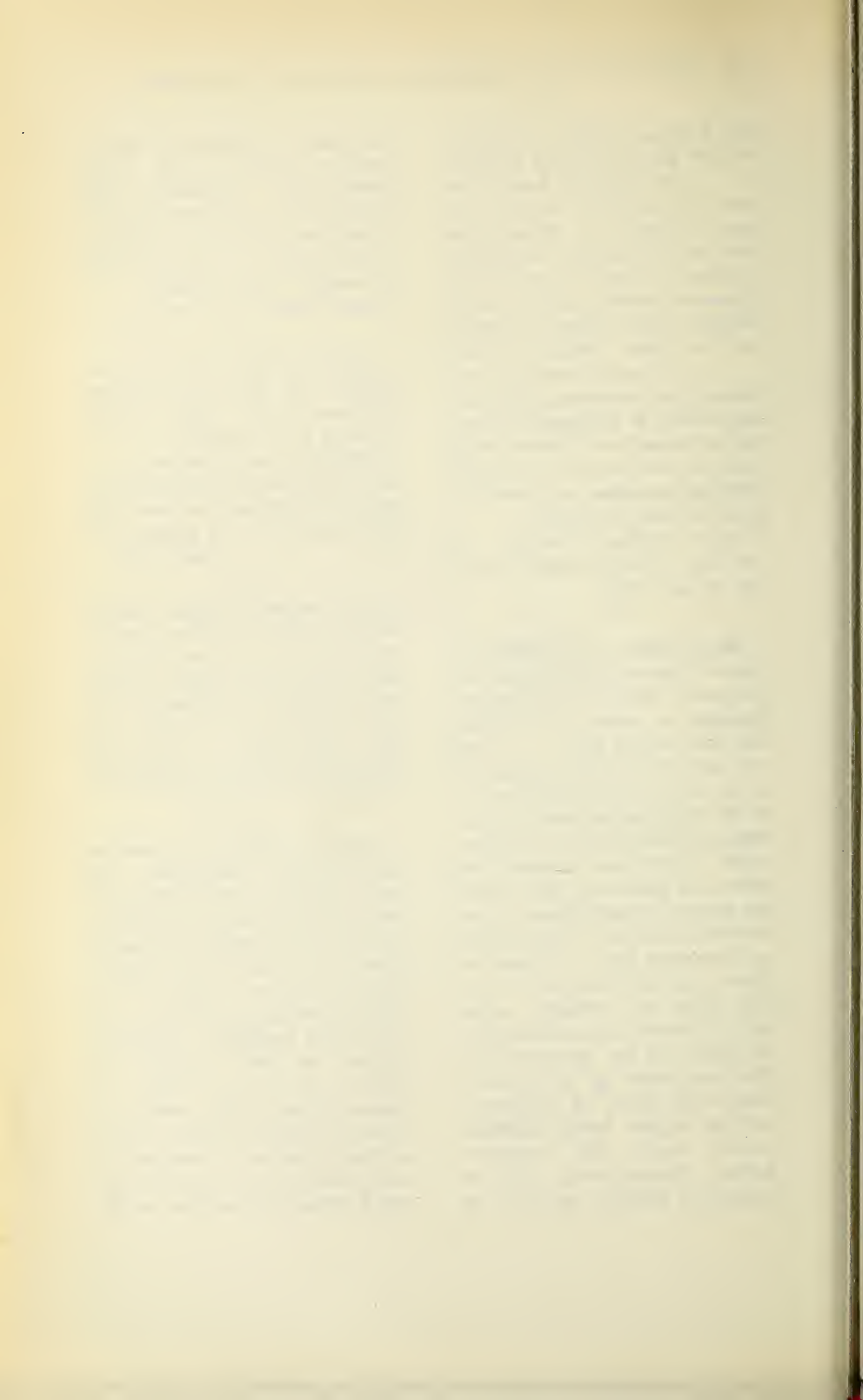
JOHN CANDLER, as above, p. 75.

RAILWAY NOTICE, 1841 [In Virginia].—"In one of the railway carriages on the road a printed warning was suspended 'Gentlemen are requested not to lean out of the windows while the train is in motion, nor to sit with their legs out of the windows.'"

Ibid., p. 117.

AN ADJOURNED LONDON YEARLY MEETING.—For the first time in its history of over two hundred and fifty years London Yearly Meeting held an adjourned session Eleventh month 6-9, 1911. The special object was the consideration of changes proposed in the Book of Discipline.

VISIT TO AMERICA BY NORMAN PENNEY.—The well-known and accomplished Editor of the *Journal of Friends' Historical Society* (London), Librarian of Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, editor of the "First Publishers of Truth," and of the just published Cambridge Edition of the "Journal of George Fox," etc., visited the United States, Tenth month 5 to Eleventh month 25, 1911. It was a great pleasure to many to see our Friend face to face. He lectured before the members of the



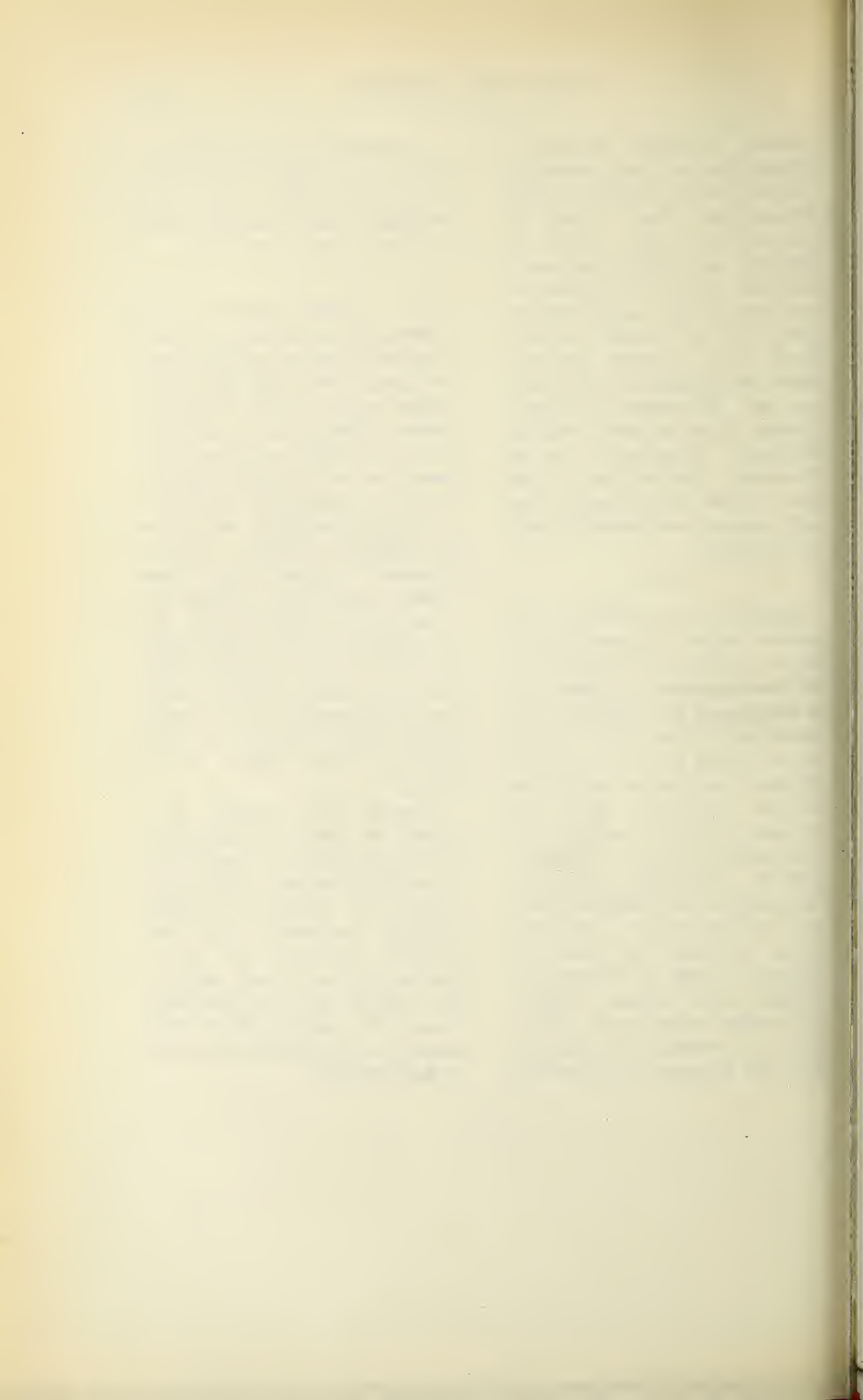
Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia and their friends in Twelfth Street Meeting House, Philadelphia, Tenth month 9, 1911, and also gave a number of lectures on subjects connected with the history of Friends to audiences in and around Philadelphia. He also spoke in New York City, Trenton, Moorestown, and Haddonfield, New Jersey, and Wilmington, Delaware. Besides these, he spoke twice in Baltimore, Maryland; also in Richmond, Indiana, and several other places. His lectures were well attended and listened to with much interest.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LONDON.—Since the last issue of the "BULLETIN" the four numbers of volume viii of the Journal have appeared. As usual, the Journal is full of matter interesting to Friends, and of valuable contributions to Quaker history. Volume ix, No. 1, just at hand, contains a verbatim reprint of the MS. in the Bodleian Library, Cambridge, containing an account of the American journey of George Fox, 1671-1673. It is annotated by Professor William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, and Norman Penney. The reprint makes 35 pp. It differs in a number of instances from the account in the Journal.

An interesting note (p. 68) relative to "the oldest Yearly Meeting in the world," seems to be conclusive that to London Yearly Meeting belongs that credit.

THE "SHORT JOURNAL" OF GEORGE FOX.—Readers of the Cambridge edition of Fox's Journal, just issued and noted elsewhere, and also of W. C. Braithwaite's "Beginnings of Quakerism," will notice not a few references to the "Short Journal." This is a manuscript which has never been published, and is now in Friends' Reference Library, London. Norman Penney thus speaks of it: "The original Ms. consists of 130 oblong pages, and is endorsed in Fox's hand-writing—'A short journall of Gff never wer printed,' with the addition in another hand, 'Of some Short things from abt ye year 1648 to King Charles ye 2 Dayes.'"

Through the liberality of a friend, the Library of Haverford College has become possessed of a beautifully-written copy of this Journal, in which the original spelling, punctuation, etc., are carefully preserved. So far as known, this is the only copy of the original that has ever been made. It consists of 76 folio pages, and is appropriately bound in half morocco.



ANNUAL MEETING.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was held at Friends' Institute, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, on the evening of Second month 26th, 1912.

The social feature of the occasion was the serving of the Annual Supper in the Tea Room of the Twelfth Street Meeting House.

The tea tables were attractively arranged to accommodate at one time all the members present and their guests, who numbered nearly two hundred.

The young ladies who assisted in serving the supper were attired in the Friends' costume of the days of their grandmothers, which recalled many pleasant memories.

The company remained seated after the supper when the Annual Meeting was held.

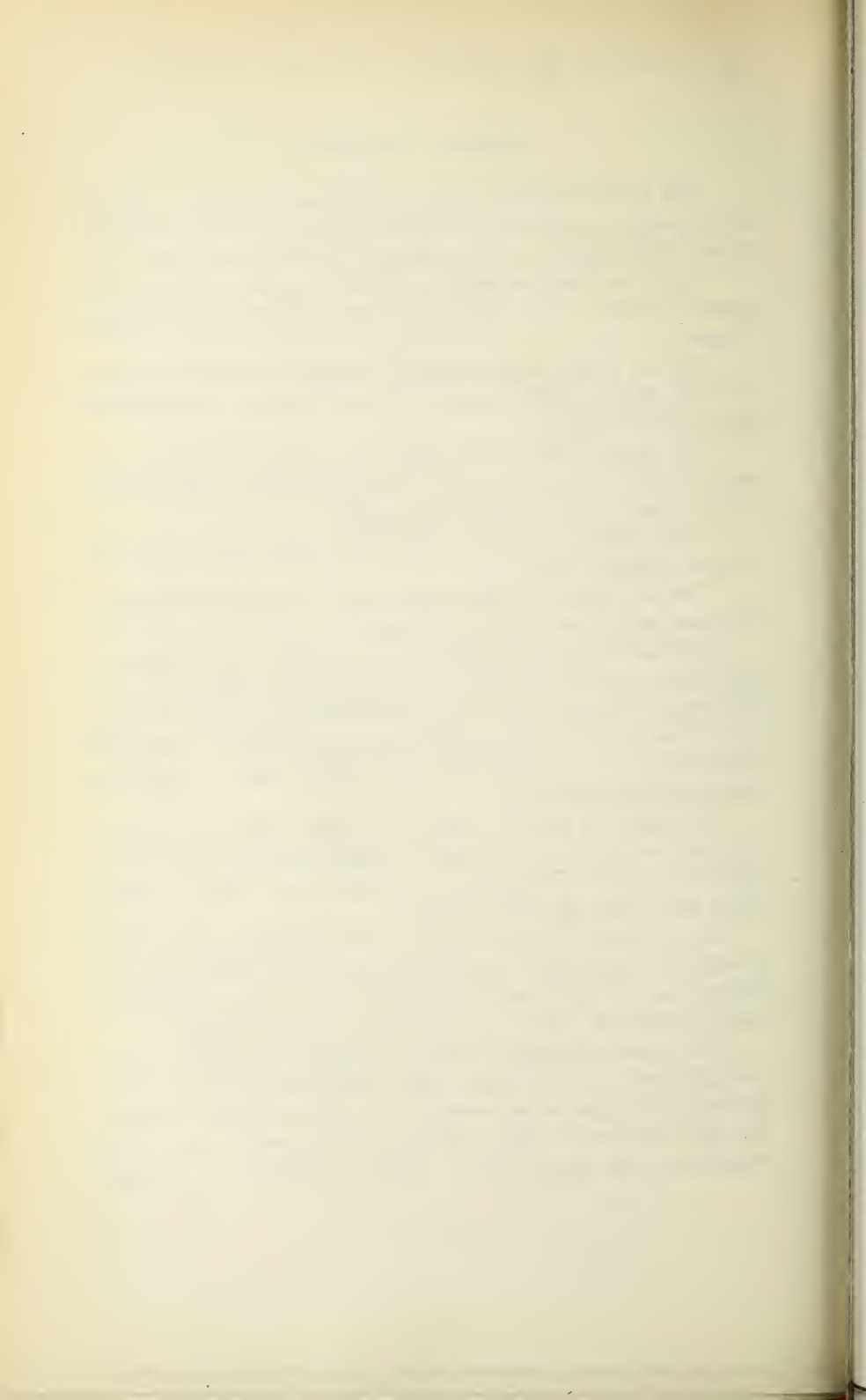
The usual routine business was soon accomplished, when the addresses of the evening were presented.

Amelia M. Gummere read a paper entitled "Our Ambitions." She spoke of the completion of the eighth year of the existence of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, and called attention to the fact that during this year would occur the hundredth anniversary of the building of the meeting house in which the company was assembled.

She made an earnest plea for a settled habitation or headquarters for the Society, which is greatly needed, and where it might be possible to display the manuscripts, pictures, books, relics, etc., belonging to the Society.

Our collection of such things would doubtless be increased thereby, as suggestions have been made by interested friends at various times of their desire to present to us articles in their possession should we secure a suitable place for their display.

She mentioned the fact that the birthplace and locality where one had lived, so distinctively representing the principles of the Society of Friends in the example of his life as John Woolman, was little known to many Friends of the present day. The suggestion was made that it might be fitting for Friends'



Historical Society of Philadelphia, to erect a suitable memorial to mark the site, near Rancocas, N. J.

Rachel Smith Howland read portions of the journal of her grandmother's grandmother, Margaret Morris, of Burlington, N. J., covering a period of six months in 1776-1777.

The journal gave an interesting picture of the anxieties and cares of the inhabitants during the trying times when the British soldiers were in the neighborhood of Burlington. The expression of the journalist of her experience of the care and preservation of an over-ruling providence was beautiful and touching.

Watson W. Dewees presented some account of the "Walking Purchase" at the time of Thomas Penn in 1737 stating the facts in regard to it which are historical and pointing out statements which are most likely legendary.

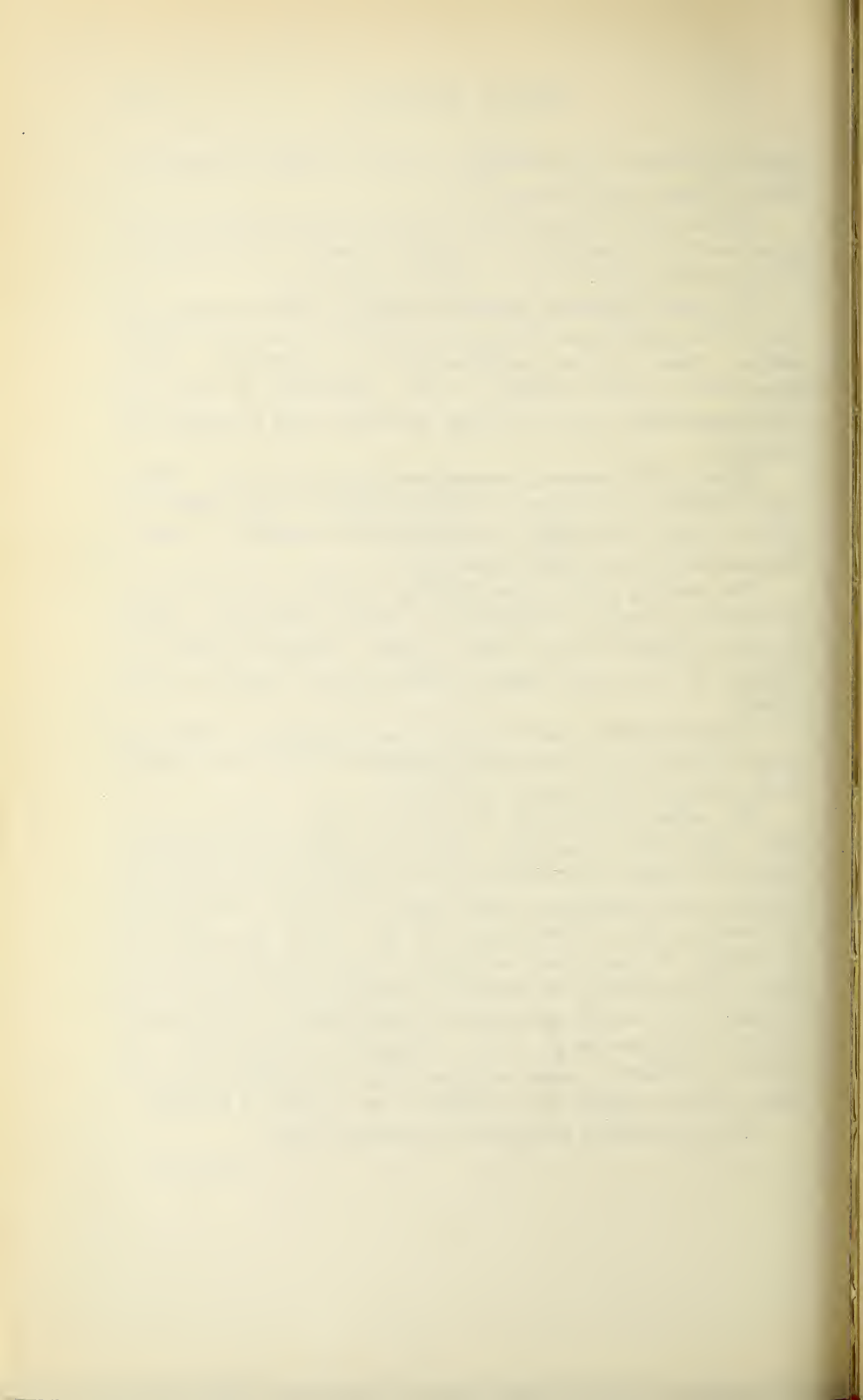
The starting point of the Walking Purchase is located near the Meeting House at Wrightstown, Bucks County, Pa., which has been marked by the Bucks County Historical Society in memory of the Lenni Lenape Indians, ancient owners of this region.

A brief address was made by Isaac Sharpless in which he spoke of the value to the present generation of the serious study of the history of the Society of Friends.

He urged that Friends' Historical Society should do more than collect old manuscripts and relics, and read entertaining diaries. The study and research for the strong elements and forces active in the development of the Society of Friends, the meaning and message that Friends have for the world, the spirit and knowledge of Quakerism, the causes of our successes and failures, are most important factors in connecting the present with the future for our advancement and improvement. He spoke of a lack of the knowledge of the philosophy of the history of Friends prevalent in some sections being the probable cause of their failure to uphold the standards of the Society of Friends.

After some brief discussion, the meeting closed.

M. S. A.



Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

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THOMAS PENN'S WALKING PURCHASE.

Early in the morning of the nineteenth of Ninth month, 1737, there was an interesting gathering at a point in the old Durham Road, at Wrightstown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Three men, Edward Marshall, James Yeates and Solomon Jennings, stood, each with one hand on a chestnut tree, awaiting the signal to start upon a walk of one and a half days in a general north-westwardly direction as the final act in a land deal with the Indians.* The exact place of the old tree is unknown, but its proximate location is beyond dispute, and we may assume it was on the spot since marked by the Bucks County Historical Society, a few rods from the Friends' Meeting House.

As we pause at this point, and try to understand the purpose of the gathering of settlers and officials, the backward look is obscure, but the forward view is partially illumined by official records and the testimony of eye-witnesses.

Before we liberate the three walkers from their places by the chestnut tree, let us explain the occasion of their presence, and why the early narrative is so obscure. The present writer accepts the tradition that in 1686 a bargain was made with the Indians for the purchase of all the land bounded upon the east by the Delaware River, and upon the west by a line starting from some point near Philadelphia, thence along the water course of the Neshaminy, and in that general direction as far as a man could walk in two and one half days (or perhaps three days, for exact data are not available), to a point, thence to the Delaware River. The writer farther assumes that William Markham having made this bargain, either he, or possibly William Penn himself on the occasion of his second visit, did the first day's (or day and a half) walk, reaching the chestnut tree at Wrightstown; then

* No attempt is made in these pages to discriminate as to the smaller Indian tribes encountered by the early settlers of Eastern Pennsylvania. Lenni Lenape, Delaware and Shawanese are names used interchangeably, and these Indians seem to have spoken a different language from the Six Nations or Iroquois, who exercised a kind of sovereign control.

thinking he had all the land likely to be needed, simply reserved the right to extend the walk another day and a half should the additional land ever be needed. He is further willing to believe that Penn, if it was he, walked leisurely from sunrise to sunset, stopping an hour for lunch, and was not averse to a pause for the purpose of shooting game. This walk might have been along the Neshaminy, or along the river to a point above Morrisville, at the mouth of what was called Baker's Run, thence running a line to intersect the Neshaminy. But all this rests upon tradition only, and if any one questions the truth of it, we must confess to the want of absolute proof. We must in fairness adopt a conclusion which will account for the well-defined neighborhood belief as above stated, and for the equally definite Indian tradition in regard to it. There were men living in 1737 who must have known all about the first part of the walk, and it was not questioned in those days. The Indian chief, who, as will presently be told, objected to the manner of completing the walk, might easily have been one of the party on the earlier occasion.

But now, in 1737, times were much changed. William Penn had long since passed away. Thomas Penn, Governor from 1732 to 1741, was the American representative of proprietary interests. Land was increasingly valuable. Already, without waiting fully to extinguish the Indian title, some tracts had been sold far beyond the limits of the first day's (or day and a half) walk. Thomas Penn began to plan for the completion of the purchase. He had departed from the principles and practices of his father and the Society of which he was once a nominal member. He cared little for the rights of the Indians, but much for his own personal gain. As early as 1735 he had the Surveyor-General of Bucks County make a trial walk over the ground, blazing a trail and removing obstructions. Endeavors were made to keep this a secret at the time, but it is now a well-established fact. Next he called a council of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, from whom the purchase was originally made. From this council, or from some portion of it, he secured a treaty confirming previous grants. We are told that original treaties and bargains were all gone over and explained. Of course, when one of the contracting parties could

not read, and there was no way to tell a forged from a real deed of transfer, there were opportunities for wrong-doing. Out of this council of 1737 emerges a document, which is not supported by anything older, as regards the particular piece of land in question. It describes:—

“All those Tract or Tracts of Land lying or being in the Province of Pennsylvania, Beginning upon a line formerly laid out, from a corner Spruce Tree by the River Delaware, about Macereckitton, and from thence running along the ledge or foot of the mountains, west north west, to a corner white oak, marked with a letter P. standing by the Indian town called Playwick, and from thence extending westward to Neshamane Creek, from which said Line the Tract or Tracts above granted doth extend itself back into the woods as far as a man can go in one day and a half, and bounded on the westerly side with the creek called Neshamane, or the westerly branch thereof as far as the said branch doth extend, and from thence by a line to the utmost of said day and a half journey, and from thence to the aforesaid Delaware, and from thence down the several courses of that river to the first mentioned Spruce Tree.”

It will be observed that the above does not indicate how the line was to run from the end of the walk to the river. The careful reader may see that it first encloses the land of the first day's (or day and a half) walk, and then provides for the additional day and a half.

It was this extension of the walk, which now occupied the attention of Thomas Penn. And this autumn morning, as the three walkers stood awaiting the signal, we are tempted to believe that the assembled company were more anxious to please the Governor than to conserve the rights of the Indians. Timothy Smith, the sheriff of Bucks County, was to see fair play, preserve order, and act as time-keeper and general manager. Surveyor-General Benjamin Eastburn had been over the ground in the trial walk, and knew exactly what was to be done. Nicholas Scull,

John Chapman and James Steel, Jr., were somewhat in the capacity of commissioners to safeguard the interests of Penn. John Combush, an Indian, who could speak English, with Joe Tuneam and his brother-in-law, represented the Indians. Alexander Brown, John Heider, Ephraim Goodwin, Joseph Knowles, Thomas Furness and others were present, either through curiosity or to assist by carrying food, wine and bedding for the party. Probably all except the official walkers and the Indians were on horseback.

The signal was given, and the walk began. It had been agreed that they must ford all streams except the Lehigh, where a boat was provided. If a walker wished to jump across a stream he must first walk to it,—then back out if he wished to make a running jump. Jennings gave out before noon, and was never a well man again. They stopped fifteen minutes for lunch, and walked that much later next day to compensate. In the afternoon they crossed the Lehigh below where the town of Bethlehem now stands. The Indians were dissatisfied, and said they were going too fast. Twice when Marshall, an easy walker, had fallen a little behind, he quickened his pace to catch up, and this caused the Indians to accuse him of running. The Blue Ridge was crossed in the afternoon, and night found the party in what is now Northampton County.

Next morning it was raining, the horses had strayed, and there were no Indians to represent their interests. It was not until eight a.m. that a start was made. Yeates fell in trying to jump a stream, and some narratives say died three days afterward. Allowing for the late start and for previous day's lunch, it was 2.15 p.m. before the sheriff called a halt. Some accounts say that only one Indian saw the finish, some that no Indian was present. One old man who might have walked with William Penn, and who at least carried the tradition of the former method, complained of this walk—"No sit down to smoke, no shoot squirrel; just lun, lun, lun, all day long."

There is some uncertainty as to the exact point where the walk ended. The sworn statement of an eye-witness gives us a glimpse of the sheriff, with his watch in hand, pointing Marshall,

the last walker, to a rising ground ahead as a good stopping place, and time was not called until he reached a group of five chestnut trees, which were all marked P, and became the official corner. The best evidence obtainable would indicate that they had deflected a little to the west to pass the last range of hills in what is now called the Lehigh Gap, and that the walk ended a few miles northeast of Mauch Chunk. Marshall always claimed that he had walked eighty-six miles. Other estimates varied from sixty, the lowest, to one hundred and ten. Modern conservative estimates place it at about seventy-two miles. Any of these figures, in view of the roughness of the country traversed, sufficiently accounts for the failure of two, and leaves us to marvel at the endurance of the third.

It now remained to run a line to the Delaware River. The Indians supposed it would be to the nearest point, which would be the Water Gap. Not so, thought the party in charge of Thomas Penn's interests. In the next four days Benjamin Eastburn and his assistants proceeded to run what he called a "right line" to the river. Whether this was at right angles to the line established by the walk, or whether it struck the Delaware at right angles, we are unable to state. The one thing certain is that it ran away off to the northeast in such manner that it reached the Delaware at the mouth of the Lackawaxen, and thus gave to the whites the choice hunting grounds of the Indians, the Minnesink region, a possible 500,000 acres to which they had a very doubtful claim.

Here might end the story of the Walking Purchase, but in justice to history, the account must proceed a little further. The Indians did not readily yield possession of the disputed land. More whites were moving in, and a border warfare seemed imminent. Five years after the walk, Governor Thomas Penn appealed to the Six Nations. It seems that years before this the Delaware and Shawanese Indians had been conquered by the great aggregation known as the Six Nations, and were held in some degree of subjection. In 1742 a delegation of 230 chiefs and warriors came on a visit to Philadelphia. They were guests of the Province. There were big dinners and much cordiality.

1754



Map of Eastern Pennsylvania in 1754. Illustrating
THOMAS PENN'S WALKING PURCHASE.

Adapted by permission of the authors and the American Book Co. From Walton & Brumbaugh's
"Stories of Pennsylvania." Copyright, American Book Co., 1897.

At the time this map was made the whole northeastern part of the State was called Northampton County, while "John Harris Ferry" indicates the spot destined to be distinguished as the capital of the State

The chiefs were easily made to see that the conquered and despised tribes had been in the wrong. A great council was held, at which Conasattego, head chief of the Iroquois, addressed the Delawares after this fashion:—

“Cousins, let this belt of wampum chastise you. You ought to be taken by the head and shaken severely, until you have recovered your senses and become sober. Our brother Onas’s cause is very just and plain, and his intentions to preserve friendship. On the other hand, your cause is bad, and your hearts are far from being right. . . . But how came you to sell the land at all? We conquered you and made women of you. You know you are women, and can no more sell land, than women. This land, which you claim, has gone down your throats. Now you want it again like children as you are. . . . Take the advice of a wise man and remove immediately. We assign you two places, Wyomen and Shamoken.”

When Conrad Weiser and other interpreters had made this plain, tradition says Conasattego siezed the chief of the Delawares by the hair and ignominiously threw him out of the council, to be followed by all his companions. These downtrodden Indians burned their cabins and left their homes. Little wonder that a few years later, under French influence, these same Indians led in the attack on the border settlements, and that Edward Marshall, the famous walker, who had settled far up on the disputed land, should be one of the first to feel its effects, one or more of his children having been killed and his family driven across the river.

Much that is included in the foregoing narrative was unknown to the general public at the time. But when the French and Indian War broke out, there was naturally much inquiry as to why the Indians were so easily estranged from the English interests. Benjamin Franklin, being in London on other business, in 1759, wrote to the Board of Trade, telling how, at a conference at Easton in 1756: “Teedyuscung complained that the Indians had been unjustly dispossessed and defrauded of large quantities of land, particularly of the lands which are included in the forks of the Delaware.”

Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, afterward secretary to the Continental Congress, in 1757 attended a council at Easton, and so pleased the Delawares that he was adopted into their tribe and entered into their politics, thus having peculiar opportunities for knowing their side of the case. He wrote a small book, which was printed in London in 1769, throwing much light on the question of Indian wrongs. He calls attention to the injustice of the walking purchase. These two cases are mentioned from outside the Society of Friends. Within its borders much sympathy and interest were manifested. Friends could not help them to fight, but they felt a freedom to assist them in stating their grievances to the government. Thomas Penn, now back in England, was much annoyed by this activity of members of the Society. In a letter to Richard Peters, dated Third month 17th, 1757, he says: "The malice of the Quakers in assisting the Indians to make the charge is very visible," etc. Again, in the autumn of 1758, he writes: "Israel Pemberton's hints are very impertinent, and will not be the means of gaining for the Indians one shilling more than they would otherwise have," etc.

But one good thing happened as a result of this advocacy of Indians' rights, and the sufferings entailed by the war. The English Government was driven by public sentiment to order an investigation, and this Walking Purchase was a tangible instance in point. So it came to pass that twenty years after the events we have related, the survivors were brought before a committee of the Provincial Assembly, and their sworn testimony became public property. If there are found to be conflicting statements and strange omissions in this evidence, it must be remembered that a long time had elapsed, and such variation is to be expected. It is some satisfaction to find that Surveyor-General Eastburn, looking back over a period of twenty years, was inclined to think, and now confessed, that injustice had been done to the Indians.

NOTE.—Those who wish to go more thoroughly into the story of the Indian Walk, or, as we have chosen to call it, Thomas Penn's Walking Purchase, may consult various books and papers, of which the following are most easy of access:

1. "History of the Indian Walk," by William J. Buck, to which is appended a biographical sketch of Edward Marshall. Jenkintown, Pa., 1886. This is by far the most complete and exhaustive account ever prepared.
2. "An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interests." Written by Charles Thomson. London, 1769. Reprint, Philadelphia, 1867.
3. Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," Vol. VI, page 209. This contains the account written by John Watson, father and son, of Buckingham, Pa., early in the nineteenth century.
4. Laws of Pennsylvania from 1700 to 1810, Vol II, page 109. Much information is contained in notes and annotations.
5. Joseph S. Walton and Martin G. Brumbaugh, in "Stories of Pennsylvania," New York, 1897, devote one short chapter to this subject.
6. Facsimile of Benjamin Eastburn's map, with notes, may be seen at the rooms of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia.
7. "Historical Map of Pennsylvania," edited by P. W. Sheaffer and others, and published in 1875 by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This shows by dotted lines the location and extent of the Walking Purchase.
9. "Quaker Ben, a Tale of Colonial Pennsylvania in the Days of Thomas Penn." Henry C. McCook. Philadelphia, 1911. The writer takes a novelist's freedom with the material at his command, but dwells at length on the walk, and gives a very unflattering picture of Thomas Penn at Pennsbury.

It is well known that the Delaware Indians immediately saw and complained of the manner in which these things were done as a fraud upon them, nor would they relinquish the land until compelled to do so by the deputies of the Six Nations, at the treaty of 1742. The proceedings of this walk are mentioned as one of the causes of the hostile feelings of the Indians, which eventually led to war and bloodshed; and the first murder committed by them in the Province was on the very land they believed themselves cheated out of.—William H. Egle, History of Pennsylvania, 1876, p. 443.

ADDRESS OF CANADIAN FRIENDS TO LORD DURHAM, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA, 1838.

JOSHUA BULL.*

In the year 1837 the old French party in Canada (mostly Roman Catholics), rebelled and attempted to secede from the British Government. A state of civil war ensued. In 1838 the Earl of Durham was sent out from England as Governor-General of Canada with special powers to deal with the situation. All citizens were called upon to take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown, and to the young Queen Victoria, who had recently come to the throne of England. Meanwhile some "over-officious" person required the Friends in Farnham to take an oath of allegiance in a form which they could not subscribe to on account of their testimony against all oaths in any form. This placed the Friends in a very embarrassing position. At length, however, it was reported that the Earl of Durham had announced his intentions to resign his position as Governor and return to England. This circumstance afforded the Friends an opportunity to express their loyalty and allegiance to the government, and to the Earl of Durham, personally, without any oath, as appears by the following address, which was prepared and signed by the adult male members of Friends, and numerous other citizens who never were members of the Society of Friends. It was then forwarded to the Earl of Durham, as expressing their satisfaction and confidence in his administration of affairs, and requesting him to remain at his post.

It is not mentioned who was delegated to present this document to the Governor. Farnham Monthly Meeting had not been established at that time; therefore there are no monthly meeting

NOTE.—Joshua Bull, the contributor of the present paper, died Seventh month 18, 1912, in his eighty-second year. He was the last male member of what was East Farnham Monthly Meeting. He sent this paper last spring, but too late for our last number. He was an interested reader of the BULLETIN, and contributed to the number for Eleventh month, 1908 (Vol. 2, No. 3), a valuable paper on the history of Farnham Monthly Meeting, P. Q., Canada.—EDITOR.

records to refer to for data. But it appears evident from the context of his reply that some reference other than what appears in this document must have been made to him in regard to the embarrassing situation concerning the Oath of Allegiance, which difficulty he seems to understand readily from his knowledge of Friends in England.

It will doubtless be desirable to publish the names of some of the Friends who signed this address, and as there are in the list many names of those who never were members, I have put an asterisk opposite the names of some of the prominent members, to indicate their membership.

FARNHAM, 10th mo. 9, 1838.

To the Earl of Durham,

Governor-General of the Canadas, &c., &c., &c.

We, the undersigned Citizens of the Townships of Farnham, and parts adjacent in Lower Canada, beg leave respectfully to represent to the Earl of Durham, that we are so situated as to have been among the afflicted witnesses of some of the commotions which so greatly disturbed this province during the Autumn and Winter of last year.

We deeply regret those commotions, and above all deplore their lamentable issue, the shedding of blood; and that in no small or unimportant scale.

With those awful scenes in our recollection, we have hailed the paternal government of the Earl of Durham, distinguished as we consider it to have been by moderation as well as firmness, and strong had been our hopes that it would be the means of permanently softening down the asperities of party & of preventing the recurrence of such afflicting and distressing events.

It is therefore matter of grief and lamentation to us that circumstances should have induced the Earl of Durham to entertain the intention of retiring from these provinces. We are persuaded that notwithstanding these circumstances his government would continue to have the support of good and moderate men of all parties, and that nothing which has occurred would materially weaken its strength & efficacy.

We shrink from the view of the too probable recurrence of confusion & bloodshed should the Earl of Durham retire from Canada, and as friends to Peace, Charity, & Good Order, we venture most respectfully yet earnestly to implore him to continue to afford to these provinces the benefit of his wise counsels and peaceable yet efficient protection.

Signed by

*Charles Taber	N. Purinton	*George C. Hall
G. Bull	Stephen Mansfield	G. S. Newell
Jas. Hawkins	*David F. Knowles	H. N. Hall
Alman Hubbaud	David Fordice	*H. Felch
Heman Allen	Samuel Knowles	*James Purinton
Jonathan Wright	Richard Wells, Jun.	W. Purinton
Elisha Goddard	Philip Wood	S. Knowles
Geo. Carpenter	Charles L. Parnell	I. Jewel
Roswell Wells	Isaac Gleason	R. Knowles
R. H. Mansfield	Joel Bultalph	*Abner H. Beede
John Hoskins, Jun.	John Wilkinson	Enoch Barnum
*Levi Knowles	Saul Bull	A. P. Hubbard
Peter Humphrey	Daniel Felch	J. Knowles
Elam L. Conant	Allans Reynolds	J. Meader
James Hawkins, Jun.	Gideon Meader	*A. Barton
*Aaron Bull	David Jewell	Zeno C. Taber
David Bull	Joseph Taber	*David E. Knowles
N. Knowles	Stephen Bassett	I. Hoskins
*H. Jewel	George Shepherd	P. Hoskins
J. Taber	*Reuben Goddard	

QUEBEC, October 26th, 1838.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith the enclosed answer from his excellency The Governor-General, to the address presented by you—I have also enclosed a copy of the Declaration of Fidelity referred to in his Excellency's answer.

I have the honor to be &c.

CHARLES BULLEN

Chief Secretary.

ANSWER.

You need not entertain any fears that I should doubt your loyalty and attachment to the British Crown. I feel persuaded that if you have declined adopting the usual public method of declaring your allegiance to Her Majesty, it has been from religious scruples as to the form, and not repugnance to the substantial declaration of Fidelity.

I know not under what authority any oath of allegiance has been tendered to you which can offend those scruples. Shortly after the accession of King William the Third an act was passed by the British Parliament establishing the form of a declaration of Fidelity to the Crown of England, to be made by all who, entertaining your religious principles, could not conscientiously take the ordinary oath of allegiance. This act was subsequently altered by one passed in the eighth year of King George the First, Chapter 6th, and under these acts the form of Declaration prescribed by the latter is still taken and subscribed by all persons of your religious tenets in Great Britain. If any other form has been tendered to you it has been probably through inadvertence and not intentionally.

For your friendly expression toward myself accept my best thanks. I am very grateful for your good opinion of me, and trust that I shall ever by my actions deserve your confidence.

DURHAM.

DECLARATION OF FIDELITY.

I do solemnly and sincerely promise and declare that I will be true and faithful to Queen Victoria, and do solemnly, sincerely, and truly profess, testify and declare that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and renounce as impious and heretical that wicked doctrine and position, that Princes excommunicated or deposed by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or martyred by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Power, Jurisdiction, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this realm.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—The “commotions” referred to in this paper were those caused by what is known as the Canadian Rebellion of 1837.

In 1791 Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, each province having a governor appointed by the crown; a legislative council nominated by the governor; and an elected assembly. The latter had little power, and no control over expenditures. This latter was a great and reasonable grievance. Moreover, the offices of state were practically restricted to a few families. In Lower Canada, whose population was chiefly French, there was great friction between the British and French on account of race, religion, temperament, and language. So great was the dissatisfaction that in 1837 there were small rebellions in each province. These risings were put down without much difficulty, but the causes of discontent remained.

Lord Durham was sent out in 1838 with full powers to deal with the situation. He was an able statesman in most respects, but appears to have been deficient in executive matters. He soon got into hot water, and raised much indignation in England by what was considered his high-handed conduct. After scarcely five months in office he resigned. He, however, drew up an able report on the condition of affairs in Canada, in which he advocated (1) granting to the colonial assembly almost full control over domestic affairs; and (2) the union of the two provinces. In essentials his recommendations were adopted, and in accordance with the scheme then devised Canada was governed until the establishment of the Dominion of Canada in 1867. Durham's plan marks the beginning of England's modern colonial policy. The value of Durham's Report is shown by the fact that it has lately been republished, with an Introduction and Notes. (“Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America.” London, 1912. Henry Frowde. 3 Vols. 25/ net.

CERTIFICATE OF MARY ROGERS, 1698.

BY M. ETHEL CRAWSHAW.

Mary Rogers was a daughter of John Wheeler. In her marriage certificate, which has recently been sent to the Reference Library at Devonshire House, London, she is described as of Witney, Oxfordshire, late of Whitby, in Yorkshire. She was married to Joseph Rogers, of East Markham, Nottinghamshire, in 1685. The marriage took place at Witney; the certificate is signed by thirteen men and eighteen women in addition to the contracting parties.

Very little information is to hand regarding Mary Rogers, prior to her marriage. In the Minute Book "for the Women's Meetings in and about ffarringdon in y^e county of Berks," commencing 1676,* Mary Wheeler is noted as being present at the meeting held at Charney on the 22d of 3 mo., 1682. Except for her very occasional attendance at Monthly Meeting, no particulars appear regarding her.

In 1697 Mary Rogers and Elizabeth Webb sailed for America, landing in Virginia towards the close of the year.† "The certifficate ffrom A Monthly Meetinge held at Philadelphia" mentioned in the following document, was ordered to be drawn up by the Meeting of Ministering Friends held in Burlington, at the house of Samuel Jennings, from the 17th to the 23d of 7 mo. [September], 1698. Mary Rogers, with other visiting Friends, was present, and laid her concern for service in Barbados before the Meeting, "in much brokenness . . . though she had tried several ways to have evaded it, if the Lord had seen good, yet every way, except that, seemed as darkness to her."‡ Two days after the close of this Meeting, she attended the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, in the same city. An Epistle from this meeting was addressed to Women Friends in London; it bears the signature of Mary Rogers among others.§

She did not live to complete her service in the New World. Samuel Carpenter, of Burlington, in a letter to William Ellis, dated 12th mo., 1699, states that Mary Rogers died "in her passage from Nevis or Antigua to Jamaica."¶ The following extract from an Epistle from Barbados Friends to London Yearly Meeting, 9th of 1st mo., 1699, gives an additional detail: "Dear Mary Rogers and Jacob ffallowfield dyed by y^e Malignant feavour as they were going thence."|| The certificate/ here

* Deposited at Devonshire House by Witney Monthly Meeting.

† Bowden, "History, II, 44.

‡ Bowden, "History," II, 40.

§ Box Meeting MSS. No. 49, deposited at Devonshire House.

¶ William and Alice Ellis, 1849, 168.

|| Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, Vol. II.

/ In the possession of Elizabeth A. Follows, of King's Lynn, Norfolk.

printed is written upon a sheet of paper measuring 14 x 14 inches, a wide margin being left at the right-hand side. The writing is in a decorative style, containing many capitals and flourishes. Most of the signatures appear to be original.

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, LONDON.

6 mo. 1912.

BARBADOS

ffrom our Quarterly Meetinge, Held At our Meetinge House, At the Springe the 22th day of the 10th Month 1698

Deare ffriends and Brethren

To Whome these shall Come Greeinge And to all the ffaith-
ful Amonge you, To the Sallutation of our Unffeigned Love for
that Liffe, which Unites Us to God, And one Vnto another, In
the Bond off Peace

This May Certyfie you, that our Deare, and Much Esteemed
ffriend, Mary Rogers, Visiting Vs In the Love of God—And ffor
orders sake shewing to Vs hir Cirtifficate, ffrom a Quarterly
Meetinge, held At Mansffeild, In the County of Nottingham In
the Kingdome of England, to Which shee Belongs, and allsoe
hir Certifficate ffrom A Monthly Meetinge held at Philadelphia In
the Province of Pensilvania, Signyfeinge theire Vnity with hir
Travelling In the Service of the Truth, was Read Amonge Vs
To Our Comforte and Refreshment and According to our Meas-
ures and groweth In the Truth, Cann doe Noe Lesse, then Giue
the Same Testymony ffor hir, as Is therein Exprest, Haveing
Vnity with our Said Bretheren Therein.

And our Said Deare ffriend haueing Drawings to the Island
of Jamaica, Wee have Vnity therewith, and shee haueing
approved Hir selfe A True preacher of the Euerlasting Gospell
and A dilligent Labourer In the power of God Among Us—
Wee soe Recommend hir, to all the ffaithfull wherever the Lord
may Order hir to be Receiued by you, as A ffaithfull Servant of
our Lord Jesus Christ, and ffor Order Sake, wee thincke It Con-
venient shee haue a Cirtifficate ffrom Vs &ct.

And Soe Deare ffriends, Wee Recommend you to the Grace
of God, and Remaine Your ffriends According to our Measures
Jn the Blessed Unchangable Truth.

Eliza Gamble	Tho: Clarke
Olive Peters	Will Deeth
Ann nulen	Francis Gamble
Agnes Weekes	William Hutching
mercy Layton	Walter Taylor
Katherine Thorpe	William Howard
Elizabeth Pilgrim	Edw. Hunt
Ann Jones	Thomas Habbin
Abigale Brathwaite	George Tayler
Elizabeth ffrisell	Robert Bootman
Hannah Gittings	Tho: Layton
Sarah Moore	Nathan ffloyd
Sybella Bowman	Will Clarke
Hannah Gittens the younger	Rob. Barnard
Eliz: Mullinex	Tho: pilgrim

A CATALOGUE OF "EIGHTY-SEVEN PUBLICK
FFRIENDS YT HAVE DYED IN PENSILVANIA
SINCE YE FIRST SETTLEMENT
OF FRIENDS THERE."

[The following list is taken from the manuscript Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, vol. 4 (1709-1713, p. 59), in Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London. "A Catalogue brot. in of Eighty-seven publick ffriends yt have dyed in Pensilvania Since the first Settlement of friends there in part Read and left with Benj^a Bealing to keep wth ye Record of yt kind." The BULLETIN is indebted to Norman Penney, the Librarian of Friends' Reference Library, for this copy. The remainder of the list will appear in the next issue of the BULLETIN.—EDITOR.]

AN ACCOUNT OF PUBLICK FFRIENDS DESEASED
IN PENSILVANIA WEST AND EAST JARSEYS

Buried Att Philad^a: &c. Buryed In Philad^a.

ffrancis ffincher came from Worcester In the Year
1683 he was drowned goeing ouer a
fferry y^e Begining of y^e 6 mo 1684 &
was buried.....6 mo 1684

James Claypoole Came from London in the Year
1683 & was buried y^e.....7 6 mo 1687

Christo: Tayler came from Edmonton near London
wth his Wife ffrancis in y^e Year 1683
his wife was bried in y^e year.....1685
he was bured in y^e year.....1686

Jn^o Longhurst Came out of the County of Sussex
in y^e yere 1682 he deced in West Jar-
sey and was Brought ouer to Philad
and was buried y^a25.. 11^{mo} 1688

John Eckley came from y^e Sea in herefordshire in y^e
Year 1683 & returned into England
again and Ariued in y^e Year 1687 he
recd a publick Testomney after he first
arriued & was buried y^e.....15th 4^{mo} 1688⁸₉

Edw: Luffe came from marktett Lauington in West-
shire & was buried in y^e Year.....1689

Thom^s. Winne Came from Caros in fflintShire in y^e
Year 1682 was buried.....17: 1 m^o: 169¹₂

John Delavall The Sonne of Thom^s Delaule Mc^eh^t in
N. York where he was conserved and
recd a Publick Testimony he remoued
To Philad^a and was buried y^e.....10th: 6m^o: 1693

*W^m Brigtwen Came from London to West Jarsey
In y^e Y^r from thence removed to
Philad^a and was buried y^e.....22^d: 6m^o: 1694

Thom^s Lloyd was Deputy Gour^r of Pensilv^a Seurile
 Years he Came from Motgoneryshire
 in Wales & Belonged to Doloboram
 meeting he arriued in Philad^a y^e 20-7^{mo}
 1683 & was buried.....12th: 7mo 1694

*W^m Stockdall belonging to Charlemont meeting in
 y^e north of Ireland he Arriued ab^t y^e
 Yeare 1687 and Was buried y^e.....23^d 7m^o 1693

Eliz^a: y^e Wife of W^m Kelley Came from Penbrook-
 shire in South Wales in y^e Year 1683
 She recd a publick Testemoney @
 Salem in West Jarsey from thence re-
 moued to Philad^a: and was buried y^e—7th:9m^o:1694

Nath^a: Duckett, the brother of Thom^s Duckett here-
 after mentioned he Came from King-
 ston upon Them^s in y^e Y^r 1696 or
 thereabouts and was buried y^e.....1st 2d^{mo}: 1697

Rob^t: Barrow of Kendall in the County of West-
 moreland Came from London in y^e
 Year 1695 with his Companion Rob^t
 Wardell, they Trauled Together
 through this prouince y^e Jarseys N:
 York New England Maryland Vir-
 ginia North Carolina Bermudas And
 Jamaica who ware Diligent and ffaith-
 full in their Service for the Lord his
 Truth and People his d^r Companion
 Being Seprated from him by Death in
 Jamaica he with some Other ffriends
 tooke Passage in a vessell bound for
 Philadelphia whereof Joseph Kirle
 was M^r and meeting with a Storme
 in the Gulph of fflorida the Vessell
 was Cast on shore Amoungh the men
 Eaters and Ware all Saved and won-
 derfulley deliured from Amoungh

Them and Trauled Through Those Indians in Great dang^r and hardships wanting food and Clothing to defend them from the Cold to a Sellement of the Spaniards called Augustine where the Gov^r and Peopell ware Very kind to Them from Thence to South Carolina (a Peticuler Acco^t whareof is in Print) this our d^r deceased ffriend Ariued in Philad^a y^e Beginning of y^e Second Month in the Yeare 1697 his body being Very much Weekned and Jmpaired by Hunger and cold: and the Great hardships and Trauells he vnd^r-went being aged but his sperit much reuiued and Comforted in the Lord often Expresing with Great Joy that y^e Lord had Giuen him his hearts desire that he might Lay his bodey Amoungh ffreinds In Philad^a he departed a few days after his arriuell and Was Burried the.....6th: 2^{mo}: 1697

John and Margett Linam belonging to Shilltop meeting in Codner in darbyshire Came to Maryland in the Year 1677 from thence remoued to Philadelphia— She was breid.....13th: 12th m^o: 1697

Eliz^a y^e Widdow of W^m Walker who deseased in London he was buried the.....7 .. 2 .. 1698 Some time before his Visit to ffreinds in England she Belonged to Welsh Poole meeting in North Wales and Came in with her then Husband W^m Morgan in the Year 1682 She recd a Publick Testemoney—after her first Arriuel her maden Name Being Brintnall She was Buried the.....26th: 5^m^o: 1697

- Millicent Hoskins widdow Came from Worcester in
y^e Year 1683 was Burried y^e.....9th: 2^{mo} 169⁸₉
- Arthur Cooke Came from London to Road Island
in y^e Year from thence to Philad^a and
Was Burried the2 .. 8^{mo} 1699
- Eliz^a y^e wife of Jn^o Martin Came from Sterjoring
in the County of Sussex in y^e Y^r 1698
or there Abouts she was buried the...13th 7^{mo} 1699
- Thom^s Duckett Belonging to Swinum meeting on
the Edge of Wiltshire he Arriued in
the y^r 1683 and was buried y^e....14th: 7th m^o: 1699
- Mary Sibthorpe Late wife of Francis ffincher before
mentioned and Came from Worcester
with him she was buried.....28 .. 7^{mo}: 1699
- Thom^s Musgroue of Warley near Hallifax in York
Shire Took Ship at Liverpoole and
was Bound for Philad^a he died on
Shipboard y^e 14.. 6mo: 1699 wth ab^t
50 passengers more y^e Vessell arrived
in y^e same m^o.....4th: 6m: 1699
- Henery Mitchell Belonged to Marston meeting in
Lancashire he died on board y^e said
Ship y^e 5mo: 1699.....5^{mo} 1699
- Alcice y^e Wife of Jn^o Kencerly Came from Wolldall
or near Jt in Yorkshire her maiden
name was Heyworth of Rossendall
Lancashire. She died also on board y^e
said Ship in y^e 5th or 6mo: 1699.....1699
- Hester y^e Wife of Rich^d Hoskins they Came from
Barbados in y^e Year 1697 she was
born in said Jsland whare she had a
Publick Testomoney she died When
her husband was in England on
Truths Seruice (who Laid downe his
body in London in y^e Year 1700) She
was buried.....2.. 7^{mo} 1699

Roger Gill of London born at or near Harding in
fflintshire Came with Thom^s: Storey
by way Maryland in y^e 4th mo 1699
who Trauled together on the truths
service to N: England and Returned
to ur Yearly meeeting held then Jn
Philad^a the Latter End of y^e 7^{mo} it
being a time of Great mortallety he
was taken Ill Soone after the Yearly
meeting & was burried 3^d.. 8^{mo}.. 1699.. 3^d 8^{mo}: 1699

Thom^s: ffitwater Came from Kingstone upon
Thems or near It in the Year 1682
was burried 6: 8mo: 1699.....6th.. 8^{mo}: 1699

John busby the sonne of John Busby of Tew in Ox-
fordshire Came ouer when he was
Young in y^e Year 1682 and recd a
Testemoney after his Arriuell he was
burried6.. 8.. 1699

Sarah the wife of Nath^a Edgcomb Came in a Singe
Woman from Wooldale in Yorkshire
her maiden name was Ellis she was
Burried y^e.. 24^{day}.. 12^{mo}.. 1699.....24.. 12th.. 1699

Rob^t Stacey Came from hausworth woodhouse In y^e
County of York to Burlington in West
Jarsey in y^e Year 1678 (or thare-
abouts) from thence to Philad^a bur-
ried y^e.....5^{day} 10^{mo} 1700

Eliz^a Iackson her maiden name Palmer belonged to
Kingston meeting Upon Theames She
Came in a Single woman with her
ffather & Moth^r in y^e Yeare 1682 and
recd a Publick Testemoney after her
Arriuall she was Burried the.....26^{day} 5^{mo} 1704

DECEASED PUBLIC FFREINDS BELONGING
TO HAUFORD MONTHLY MEETING IN
Y^e COUNTY OF PHILAD^a.

- Henery Lewis..fformerly of Pembrokshire South
wales Came to Pensilv^a in y^e Year
1682 was burried at hau^eford y^e.....17^{day} 6^{mo} 1688
- Thom^a: Ellis..Came from Merionith Shire north
wales in y^e Year 1683 was Burried at
Hau^eford y^e8.. 11.. 1688
- Rob^t Owen..of Dobysore in Merioneth Shire north
wales arriued in Pensilv^a in the Year
1684 died in 1685 and burried near
Duck Creeke in y^e Territories of said
prouence1685
- Evan vp:...W^m Powell likewise Came from
Merionithshire Intending for Pen-
silv^a with his ffeamelley after a Tedious
and Long Voyage (viz: 22 weeks) ar-
riued at Barbados y^e 7.. 1^{mo}: 168⁶ and
Within a ffeew weeks died.....1687
- Rob^t Owen Late of Vron Goch In Merionithsh:
Arriued in the Year 1690 and Burried
Att Merion burying place.....10^{day}: 10^{mo} 1697
- John German from the County of Radner South
wales arriued in 1683 and was burried
at Radner y^e 14.. 12^{mo}: 1697.....14.. 12.. 1697
- Jn^o Humphrey of Lwyndu In Merionithsh Arrived
in y^e Yeare 1683 and was burried at
Hau^e:ford the28.. 7.. 1699
- Hugh Roberts..Late of Ciltalgarth In Merionith-
sh his ffirst arriuall was in y^e Year
1683 he was burried at merion y^e.....20.. 6.. 1702
- John Roberts of Lanidlos in Radnershire Came in y^e
Year 1698 he was taken Sick at Phil^a
and burried there.....—7.. 1702

John Hasting of In Oxfordshire ar-
riued in y^e Year 1682 or 1683 and
was Burried at Hau^eford y^e 12.. 2^{mo}:
1698 12:: 2.. 1689

Rich^d and Jone Wall They Came from Glaucest^r-
shire in y^e Year 1682 or 1683. they
were burried at Cheltnam in y^e
County Philalephia
he was Burried y^e.....26.. 1^{mo} 1698
She was Burried y^e....2^d.. 12.. 1701

James Dellworth Belonging to Chipping meeting in
Lancashire arriued in the 7th mo 1682.
he deceased In Bristoll Township in
the County of Philad^a and Was
burried8^{day} 7^{mo} 1699

[To be continued.]

THE PURCHASE OF SWARTHMOOR HALL.

[Though the purchase of Swarthmoor Hall has been noted in many Friends' periodicals, it seems right that so interesting an event should be chronicled in the BULLETIN, and so a letter of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, who had much to do with the matter, is reprinted from *The Friend* (London), Ninth month 13, 1912.—EDITOR.]

THE FUTURE OF SWARTHMORE HALL.

To the Editor of The Friend.

DEAR FRIEND.—As I know that Friends generally are interested in the change of ownership of Swarthmore* Hall, I had hoped to be able to give a brief account of the matter to the recent Meeting for Sufferings; but the pressure of other business and the inexorability of railway trains made this impossible.

Briefly, this little estate, so memorable in the history of

* Dr. Hodgkin uses this method of spelling the name.

Quakerism, does not immediately become the property of the Society of Friends, but our participation in the recent purchase ensures that it shall eventually belong to London Yearly Meeting. Miss Emma Abraham, of Liverpool, a lineal descendant of Margaret Fell, has had a lifelong desire to become the owner of the estate which a hundred and fifty years ago was sold, under the stress of hard times, by her ancestor, John Abraham. On the other hand, many Friends were desirous that this interesting historic property should not again be subject to the risks of private ownership and the possible appearance on the scene of the speculative builder. The compromise between these two laudable ambitions which we have arrived at is as follows:

The purchase money of the estate will be provided in two equal portions, half by Miss Abraham and half by the Friends who have kindly responded to my appeal. The property will be conveyed to her, but our moiety will remain as a charge on the estate at a low rate of interest. Miss Abraham will undertake to make no important structural change in the building without consulting with the mortgagees; but indeed for this covenant there is not likely to be any need, for she loves Swarthmore Hall as much as we do, and is averse to any change beyond the mere necessary upholding of the building. She will grant all reasonable facilities of access to visitors, especially visitors from a distance, who may desire to inspect the premises. A covenant will be inserted in the mortgage deed forbidding redemption of the property except by desire of the mortgagees, and assuring to the latter the right by pre-emption on Miss Abraham's decease, the purchase money to be the same as the moiety now paid by Miss Abraham, *plus* compensation for unexhausted improvements.

The old Hall will thus, we are persuaded, be lovingly and wisely cared for during the lifetime of its new owner, and will eventually, as before said, become the property of London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends.

It was obviously inexpedient to advertise widely the desire of Friends to purchase before the sale, and only about five and twenty probable donors were therefore consulted. Now, however, I hope we may see the establishment of a Swarthmore Hall

Trust Fund, to which small as well as large contributions may be made by those who are interested in the scheme, and to which some of our brethren across the Atlantic will, I believe, wish to subscribe. There is not only the present moiety of the purchase money to be provided for, but also probably some part of the expenses of repair and upholding of the building: and looking a little further ahead, it is desirable to have at least the nucleus of a fund for the final purchase of the estate. Thine truly,

THOMAS HODGKIN.

Barmoor Castle, September 7th, 1912.

PROTEST BY A SHIP'S CREW AGAINST CARRYING QUAKERS, 1664-5.

[Endorsed] Refusall to transport quakers from Bristoll.

A copie of a Certificate sent from Bristoll to London Concerning their refusing to Carrie 3 persons sentenced for Banishment.

These are to Certifie all & euery person or persons vnto whome this present Writing may or shall Come: That whereas there was 3 persons Called Quakers viz: Callender Britton, Bartholomew Croke, & Lewis Rogers brought on Board our Shipp, Called the *Mary ffortune* of Bristoll the 6th day of December, and Continued waiting on board our shipp till the 23d of the same Month, then Came a stay for all shippes: So wee put them a shoare againe: & on the 31 day of y^e same month wee receiued a passe from his Royall Higehnes ths Duke of York to proceed on our voyage, and then they were brought on Board againe by John ThroughGood Water-Bayley, & hath Continued, on board our shipp till this present day: & now by Reason of the long continued presse wee Could in nowise deny the Carryeing them on Board; But now going to depart, their Crie & the Crie of their ffamilies & freinds are entred into the eares of the Lord God, & he hath smitten to our very hearts, saying Cursed is hee that parteth man & wife. And moreouer they that oppresse his people his plagues shall follow them wheresouer they Go; And assuredly

wee do in heart pertake with them allreadie for our Consciencs will in nowise let vs rest, or be at quiet, for the Lord hath smitten vs with a terrible feare, so that we cannot in nowise proceed to Carrie them: And moreouer we do wholly believe, that our most Gracious Souereigne doth not in the least intend to destroy his subjects, because he hath not made void the Late Acte of the Nation, which saith that no Englishman shall be Carryed out of his natiue Countrie against his Will, & hee or they that do so Carrie them shall forfeit great penalties. And further we know that there is a Law in Barbadoes that whosoever doth bring any person or persons into the aforesaid Ileland against their Wills, & not being bound by Indentures shall be vnder such penalties as ye law may inflict vpon them & also forced to bring them back to their habitations againe, & we also know that they are innocent persons, & that they do desire to walk in y^e feare of the Lord, & that they was put on board on our shipp against their Wills; Neither are they bound by any Indenture, Neither hath any one agreed for their passage; And we find that our Maister hath no order, nor any ones hand to saue him & vs from Comeing vnder such penalties y^t y^e Law may inflict vpon vs for Carrying them in this nature: For these reasons & many more we haue put them on shore, Not that they haue made any escape, But that wee haue set them at Liberty to Go whither they please:

Witnesse our hands the 7th of January 1664[5]

William Smith

John Moore

Phillip Phillips

John Loide

Thomas Sanders

Thomas Lewis

Richard Lord

Thomas Moodie

The above document is taken from "Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, Third Series, 1664 to 1669, pp. 230, 231," which volume is noticed elsewhere in the BULLETIN.

It shows that there was a decided feeling against the treatment the Friends were receiving at the hands of the rulers.—
EDITOR.

ANNUAL EXCURSION OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA AND
INTERESTED FRIENDS.*

1912.

SALEM, NEW JERSEY.

BY ONE OF THE EXCURSIONISTS.

The Annual Excursion of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia for 1912 was to the old New Jersey town of Salem. A special train left Camden at 1.07 p.m., connecting with the ferry boat from Philadelphia at 1 p.m. The date, Sixth month 15th, seemed to conflict with sundry school and college functions, and a threat of rain kept some at home, so the company was not so numerous as had been expected. In fact, officers and members of the Historical Society, usually present on such occasions, were conspicuously absent. The threatened rain did not come, the absence of dazzling sunlight was an advantage rather than otherwise, and the trip as a whole was eminently successful.

An hour's run from Camden, through a country of farms, gardens and villages, and we were in Salem. Leaving our lunch baskets, etc., at the meeting house on East Broadway (now used by Race Street Friends), we started out to see the town. Points of chief interest were all on streets of moderate length. In the burial ground used jointly by all in the place under the name of Friends, we first visited the Salem Oak. This is a most interesting sight; a single tree which, being unconfined, has grown outward, rather than upward. We were told it was only fifty-eight feet high, but its branches, from tip to tip, covered a space of one hundred and seventeen feet. The trunk, a little above the ground, measures twenty-eight feet in circumference. The tree gave evidence of having been guarded very carefully, and looked as though it might add many years to its estimated age of three hundred.

* NOTE.—Condensed from a paper in the *Friend*, Philadelphia, Seventh month 4th, 1912.

To the east of this tree, in early days, stood the dwelling house of Samuel Nicholson, which, altered to adapt it to another purpose, became the first Friends' Meeting House. This was in 1680. A second house of brick was in nearly the same place. A third house, likewise of brick, built in 1772, was on another tract, and was that in which we had established headquarters for the day.

From the tree we crossed the street to the meeting house built in 1837, and still in use.

We sat for a little while on the benches used by members of Salem Particular Meeting and by those of Salem Quarterly Meeting until it was united to Haddonfield. The house seemed filled with the memories of worthy Friends, more or less closely associated with it in the not distant past.

Most of the company continued their walk to the foot of Broadway (or Bradway Street) to the point on Salem Creek where the settlers first landed. Here, in earliest times, tradition says, they used to tow great whales to cut them up. The surroundings of the boat landing are not now at all attractive. One old house, bearing the date 1691, seemed to carry us back to those primitive days, and looking up Broadway from the boat landing, it was easy to believe that it had once been the one and only street of the straggling village of Salem. Returning to the meeting house on East Broadway, we settled ourselves to learn some history. We had passed Fenwick Station on the railroad, and had come into a town where Fenwick was a good name for a street, a hotel or almost anything else which needed a distinctive title. An hour was devoted to a somewhat informal historical meeting. The president of a local historical society was present with words of kindly welcome, and the secretary of that body read a chapter of early Salem history. George Abbott, Jr., had prepared a paper, which George Abbott, Sr., read, on the career of John Fenwick, and parts of this paper may be summarized as follows:

Omitting all reference to Dutch and Swedish emigrants who had made sporadic attempts at settlement at many points on Delaware Bay and its inlets, John Fenwick may be considered the

founder of Salem. He came of an excellent English family, and in the time of the civil war espoused the Puritan cause and fought under Cromwell. He must have won some distinction, for at the execution of Charles I, in 1649, he commanded the cavalry assigned to be present on that occasion. Like some others of that army, he later came under increased religious conviction, and as one of the despised sect called Quakers, suffered persecution for his beliefs. Becoming interested financially in the ownership of lands in the little known western world, he began to dream of a colony in those regions, where Friends might enjoy full liberty of conscience. So it came to pass, that he led a colony to West Jersey. In the ship *Griffith* he sailed to America, entered Delaware Bay, went a few miles up one of the streams, and founded a town, which, because it was to be dedicated to peace, was called Salem.

We make no attempt to explain his title to the land. Out of a haze of royal grants, bankruptcies, assignments, suits and settlements, John Fenwick emerges with a generally acknowledged ownership of a tenth part of West Jersey. More important is it to recall that, like Penn, he took immediate steps honorably to purchase the land from the Indians who lived upon it.

Here, then, two years before Burlington was settled, and six years before William Penn arrived in Philadelphia, Fenwick and his associates began the town of Salem, and houses sprang up along that street now called Broadway. Sixteen acres seems to have been the usual allotment of land in town limits, but there being some persons of means among the colonists, they began to buy in 500 or 1,000-acre tracts, a little more remote.

Fenwick himself had a short and troubled career in America. His wife for some reason did not accompany him. Three daughters, possibly by a former wife, were with him, and each left descendants. Once Fenwick was arrested on some charge preferred by Governor Andros, and carried in chains to New York by sea, and there confined for more than two years. Of course, the affairs of his colony fell into disorder; there were charges and counter charges, and it would be difficult at this date to determine who was at fault. Through it all the colony seems to

have flourished. He died late in the year 1683, and even the place of his burial is a subject of dispute. William Penn, who was then in America, was named one of the guardians, to look out for the interests of his grandchildren.

Although the Fenwick colony landed in mid-winter of 1675-6 and probably suffered considerable hardship, we do not hear of any such mortality as in some other cases. Those among them who were Friends, immediately began the practice of assembling twice in the week for Divine worship. These meetings were of necessity held at private houses, and difficulty was experienced in finding a suitable place. Only six months elapsed before the following minute opens the official records of Salem Monthly Meeting:

“At a meeting held the first day of Sixth month, 1676, it was unanimously consented thereto, that the first Second-day of the week, in every month, the Friends within the town of New Salem in Fenwick's colony, and all Friends belonging thereunto, do monthly meet together, to consider of outward business, and of such as have been convinced, and those that walk disorderly; that they may with all gravity and uprightness to God, and in tenderness of spirit and love to their souls, be admonished, exhorted, and also reproved, and their evil deeds and practises testified against, in the wisdom of God, and authority of Truth, as may answer the wisdom of God within them.”—*Minutes Salem Monthly Meeting*.

Names of those prominent in the organization of the early meeting, in addition to Fenwick, were Samuel Nicholson, Edward Wade, Samuel Hedge, John Thompson, John Smith, Richard Grey, John Addams, Nathan Smart and Edward Champney. We are led to conclude they met chiefly at the house of Samuel Nicholson, and as before stated, finally bought his house and town tract.

Other meetings sprang up within a few years, in the province of West Jersey, among which Salem appears to have held a rather prominent position. In 1682, as appears by minute of Burlington Monthly Meeting, a “General Meeting” was held at Salem. Minutes of Woodbury Monthly Meeting speak of a

"Quarterly Meeting" at Salem as early as 1683. In 1686 a Yearly Meeting held at Burlington directed that Salem and Newton (now Camden) should make one Quarterly Meeting.

A pleasant supper hour followed the reading of the address. An outfit of cups, dishes, etc., were graciously placed at our disposal, and citizens of the town, Friends, members of the Historical Society and others, did much to make our visit a thing long to be remembered. At seven o'clock the special train bore homeward a very happy group of excursionists, with pleasant memories of the day and place, with some new and lasting impressions, and a well-grounded feeling that they had been to Salem.

BOOKS, ETC., RECENTLY ISSUED, OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

Christianity and Business. By Edward Grubb, M.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912. 2/6.

This is a small volume by the editor of the *British Friend*. It "had its origin in a discussion on 'Business Morality' which was introduced at the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, in London, in May, 1911, and which was afterwards vigorously carried on in the denominational papers of that body." The text was originally written for the *British Friend*, but is now published in a revised and expanded form.

The author states that he writes as a student of Economics and not as one with experience of business problems. Some may dissent from a few of the author's statements, and from his diagnosis of certain conditions, but no one can read his pages with any degree of attention without being made to think. His general conclusions seem to be sound. We commend the work as a thoughtful, sane, and suggestive treatment of a most important present-day question.

Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends of London Yearly Meeting. Part II. Christian Practice, consisting chiefly of Extracts from the Epistles and other Documents issued under the sanction of London Yearly Meeting, 1672 to 1911. Approved and adopted by the Yearly Meeting of 1911. London: Headley Brothers, 140 Bishopsgate [1912].

This volume is the result of careful labor, and was considered and approved at the adjourned session of London Yearly Meeting, 1911, referred to in the last number of the BULLETIN (p. 118). It is an ex-

tremely interesting and valuable compilation and well worthy a thoughtful perusal by every concerned Friend. It is an admirable presentation of Christian Practice. It places daily life on a high level inculcating the highest ideals of conduct and service.

Those who have the opportunity to consult the various editions of the London "Discipline" will notice how each edition emphasizes those questions which were to the front when that edition appeared, and which doubtless were a cause for the revision of the old and the addition of new sections. One is able to do this because by a praiseworthy custom the date of each paragraph or section is given. The following are examples.

The chapter (ix) on "Counsel to the Young" is more than half new, that on "Education" (x) is also mostly new, so is that (xi) on "Counsel to Those in Perplexity," while that (xii) on "Counsel to Those in Moral Difficulty" is wholly new, as is also in chapter xiii, the section on the "Stewardship of Wealth." The sections on "Betting and Gambling" appear, we believe, for the first time. The sections on Peace have been revised and new ones added, and also those relating to Oaths. Three new paragraphs, "Civic Responsibility," "Service to Our Country," "Opportunities for Civic Service" (pages 126, 127) are worthy of careful consideration.

Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends. Third Series, 1664 to 1669. London: Headley Brothers. Philadelphia: Herman Newman, 1010 Arch Street. New York: David S. Taber, 144 East Twentieth Street. 4/6, \$1.15 net.

This is Supplement No. 10 of the "Journal of the Friends' Historical Society," and continues the extracts from the State Papers. Like the preceding volumes, it gives the views of those opposed to Friends, and of the authorities, as well as some petitions from the suffering Friends. The papers here published are most valuable testimonies to the facts of early Quaker history, as well as indicating in an unimpeachable manner what our predecessors were compelled to suffer for their religious principles. Two extracts from this volume will be found elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN.

Nonconformity, Its Origin and Progress. By W. B. Selbie, M.A., D.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. London: Williams & Norgate [1912]. 1/. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 50 cents. Pp. 256.

This is a volume of the "Home University Library." The author is one of the prominent Nonconformists of Great Britain, and within the narrow limits allowed has done remarkably well. Probably nowhere within so small a compass can so clear an account of the subject be found. The chapter on "The Quakers" is, relatively, full, and in the

main sympathetic and appreciative. The following will give an idea of the writer's attitude. "It was just at the time that Puritanism was becoming official and more formal that Quakerism began to be. It is a mistake to think that it arose in any way from the sects just mentioned, or that it was in any way affiliated with them. It did, however, spring from the same spirit of revolt and resentment. It was a fresh protest in favor of the genuine Nonconformist ideal, and gave a very clear witness on its behalf. . . . He [George Fox] met the prevailing religious temper among the more serious, who were weary of the formalism around them, and sought something deeper and more real than the theological disputations with which the pulpits of the time resounded. The appeal of Fox—a man of keen mother-wit rather than learning—to the witness of God in their souls was what many had been waiting to hear, and they responded to it with eagerness." Pp. 98, 99.

Evolution and Empire. By John W. Graham, M.A., Principal of Dalton Hall, the University of Manchester, author of "The Destruction of Daylight." London: Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate [1912.] Pp. 222.

This volume, which may be described as a militant book on Peace, is a series of chapters on subjects connected with Peace, such as "War as Builder of Nations," "Are the Times Ripe for Peace?" "Trade, Empire, and War," "Despotism and War," etc. Notwithstanding the author's claim that the chapters "make a book, not a collection of essays," there is a certain lack of continuity and some repetition. It is a good book for the advocates of Peace to read, and, to continue the metaphor, is an armory from which not a few keen weapons and heavy shot can be obtained for the good fight in favor of Peace and Arbitration.

The author writes (page 100), speaking of Arbitration, "The real moral victory was when Gladstone, in the face of a biassed court and a plainly exaggerated award, nevertheless accepted the Genevan decision." He should have added, "And also when the United States, in the face of a biassed board of arbitrators, and a plainly exaggerated award for fishery benefits, nevertheless accepted the decision. It was the acceptance by both nations which constituted the complete "moral victory."

The People Called Quakers. By Henry Seidel Canby. The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, June, 1912. New York: The Century Co.

This paper, which appeared in the June, 1912 number of *The Century*, has been widely read. It is not easy to characterize this production. There is much truth, much misconception, some error, and a misunderstanding of some of the fundamentals of Quakerism. The author, himself of Quaker descent, looks upon Quakerism rather as an "interesting case," than as a real, vital, religious force:—this latter he does not seem to

understand, and this fact takes his paper out of the field of valuable discussion. Nevertheless many, perhaps most, readers will receive an erroneous impression of real Quakerism, both past and present. The illustrations represent types long since passed away except in a few places, though the impression given to the casual reader is that they are characteristic of the present. The one entitled, "A Quaker Wedding," represents the groom as wearing his hat during the marriage ceremony. The writer of this note has attended many Quaker marriages during the past fifty years, but he has never seen the hat worn on any such occasion, or heard of any instance when it happened. It would be rash to say it has never occurred, but to publish such a print giving the impression of a typical occurrence is almost a libel on the Society.

Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707. Edited by Albert Cook Myers. With Maps and a Facsimile. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1912. 8vo, 476 pp. \$3.00 net.

This carefully-edited volume will prove invaluable to students of early Pennsylvania and West New Jersey history. Nowhere within the compass of one volume are given so many documents and papers of various kinds relating to this historical field. One document of special interest is the "Description of Pennsylvania," by Francis Daniel Pastorius, 1700. He is Whittier's "Pennsylvania Pilgrim." This tract of 93 pages has never before been translated in full into English. An interesting incident in the account is the letter of the father of Pastorius to William Penn, inquiring as to the "condition and method of life" of his son, from whom he had not heard for a long time, and hence was anxious about him. The correspondence was carried on in Latin. Penn's letter is dated "Bristolii, die 20, Mensis 2, vulgo Februarii 1699," and is addressed "A Monsieur Monsieur Melchior Adam Pastorius, President, à Windsheim in Franconia." William Penn says, "Thy son was recently among the living and is even now in Philadelphia. This year he is justice of the peace, or was so very lately. Furthermore, he is called a man sober, upright, wise, and pious, of a reputation approved on all hands and unimpeached. He is the father of a family, but how many children he has I do not know. An assurance of thy love and a letter announcing thy good health would be very pleasing to him." Pages 442-445.

The one feature of early Pennsylvania history which receives slight attention is the Welsh element. There is not much material available, but more might have been given. There are also no extracts from the Journal of Dankers and Sluyter, who give some not very flattering pictures of the Quaker residents before Penn's time, who seem to have been of those who had "run out of the Truth."

The Nature and Purpose of a Christian Society. The Swarthmore Lecture for 1912. By T. R. Glover, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, and University Lecturer in Ancient History, Cambridge. London: Headley Brothers, 1912. 1/.

This series of lectures, "on some subject relating to the message and work of the Society of Friends," was established in 1907, and a lecture is given annually at the time of London Yearly Meeting. The previous lecturers in order have been Rufus M. Jones, William C. Braithwaite, Joan M. Fry, and Thomas Hodgkin. T. R. Glover is the first non-member to be invited to speak in this series. This action aroused some comment, but there may be at times considerable advantage in hearing how an outsider looks upon Quaker views and practices. That the subject was ably treated, those who heard T. R. Glover at Haverford College this last spring will have no doubt.

George Fox. By H. G. Wood, M. A., late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Lecturer at Woodbrooke. National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, Memorial Hall, E. C. Leaders of Revival Series. 1/ net. Illustrated [1912].

Those who met and heard Herbert G. Wood at the Haverford Summer School in 1910 will be anxious to read this little book. "The only excuse," says the author, "for re-telling a story that has been told so often and so well before, lies firstly in the hope that a narrative by one who is not a member of the Society of Friends may be justified by some difference of emphasis; and secondly in the fact that the publication of the Cambridge edition of Fox's *Journal*, and of William Charles Braithwaite's book, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, has made some new material accessible." This volume can be placed alongside of T. E. Harvey's *Rise of the Quakers*, as an admirable epitome of the life of Fox and the early days of Quakerism.

A Dictionary of German-English and English-German. By Max Bellows. London: Longmans & Co., 1912. 6/ net. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.75. This dictionary is modelled on the well-known French-English, English-French dictionary of the author's father, the late John Bellows, of Gloucester. Such a work can only be judged by constant use, but the fact that the printing took four years, indicates the care taken in its production. It is a book to be grateful for.

NOTES AND QUERIES

FREDERIC SEEBOHM. — In the passing away of Frederic Seebohm Second month, 1912, the Society of Friends lost one of its foremost men of letters. He was the son of Benjamin Seebohm, whose religious visit to this country during the years 1846-1850, produced a lasting effect upon many members of the Society. Frederic Seebohm was born 1833, and studied law at the Middle Temple under Joseph Bevan Braithwaite. He practiced but little, and soon entered the banking business at Hitchin. He did not allow his business to engross all his attention, but fulfilled many civic duties with success. It is, however, as an historian that he claims the attention of the readers of the BULLETIN.

He was drawn to the study of the religious movements of the sixteenth century, and as early as his twenty-sixth year began contributing papers on this subject to the great English reviews. In 1867 he published his first great work, "The Oxford Reformers of 1498"; a second edition appeared in 1869 under the title, "The Oxford Reformers, Colet, Erasmus and More"; a third and fourth edition were subsequently issued. In 1876 or 1877 he contributed to the "Epoch Series" his "Era of the Protestant Revolution," which remains as the best brief hand-

book of that period. Perhaps no work gives in so small a compass as clear a survey of the causes, currents, and results of that great era.

His attention was then directed to economic history, to which he devoted the rest of his literary labor. For the general public his works on this field are too technical to attract many readers, and it is rather to be regretted that one so fitted to treat of religious progress and reform should have left these subjects. To students of economic history his volumes, "The English Village Community," "The Tribal System in Wales," "Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law," and others are well known. Some of his positions on matters connected with these subjects were controverted by other students, but there can be little doubt that his "English Village Community" opened to English scholars a then almost untrodden field. His patient study, and his unvarying adherence to truth as he was able to discover it, were worthy of all admiration.

JORDANS GUEST HOUSE.—The Friends' Guest House at Jordans, Buckinghamshire, was formally opened Seventh month 13, 1912. The house is about one hundred yards from Jordans

Meeting House. It was the old farm house and the scene of many stirring incidents in the days of persecution. The property was acquired by Friends, and the house renovated and enlarged in keeping with the old portion. Silvanus P. Thompson, and J. Rendel Harris made the addresses at the opening, Dr. Harris unlocked the door and the building was thrown open for inspection. It was stated that about £1,500 is still needed to complete all plans. Visitors to the historic Jordans and the grave of William Penn will now have a place where meals can be obtained, and arrangements made for a stay of a few days or weeks.

GEORGE FOX'S WRITING DESK.—Dr. Thomas Hodgkin writes in "The Friend" (London), Ninth month 20, 1912, "The old bedstead (said, but I believe incorrectly, to have been used by George Fox), was bought by Lawrence R. Wilson, on behalf of the Society; and the desk, which is believed to have really belonged to him, was bought by Mrs. Kennedy, of Stone Cross, Ulverston, and most kindly presented by her and her husband 'to the Society of Friends, to remain in Fox's old meeting house forever.'"

MARRIAGES AMONG EARLY FRIENDS.—The following extract from "Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, Third Series, 1664 to 1669," p. 236, shows some of the difficulties

Friends labored under in refusing to be "married by a priest." "Hee further sayth, that Peter Johnson of Hollam tooke one Rebecah who he lues withall as his wife and hath children by her, that he ownes to be his, and hath not caused them to be baptized to this deponants knowledge nether doth it appeare to this deponant, that the said Peter and Rebecah are married, nether doth this deponant beleieve they are." A note by the editor of the volume adds, "Peter and Rebecca *were* duly married according to Friends' ceremony, 19th 6 month, 1658; the marriage was entered on the Register of Hull Monthly Meeting."

Date of the above deposition was "Beverley, February 21th 1664 [5]," and the deponent was Henry Lathley.

JOURNAL OF SARAH LINDSEY.—The Library of Haverford College has recently acquired a carefully and neatly executed manuscript copy of the Journal kept by Sarah Lindsey of England "whilst accompanying her husband Robert Lindsey on a religious visit to Friends and others in the Western Hemisphere, including California, Oregon, British Columbia, and the Sandwich Islands, also some of the Meetings of Friends in Australia and Van Diemens Land, for the use of her children and Friends, 1857-1861."

Portions of this Journal were printed in the "British Friend," and it was made use of in the

printed sketch of the lives of these devoted Friends (Travels of Robert and Sarah Lindsey, London, 1886), but it has never been printed in full. It contains much information of the condition of Friends in America 1857-1861, and tells of the very beginnings of Quakerism on the Pacific Coast. As a picture of the conveniences, or rather inconveniences, of travel at that period it is also of great value, as there is much of description—far more so than in most journals kept by travelling Friends. The work is in five volumes aggregating 837 quarto pages.

SWARTHMOOR OR SWARTHMORE.—Norman Penney, in the *Friend* for Ninth month 27, 1912, expresses a hope that in future the name should be written *Swarthmoor*. While it is true that *Swarthmore* occurs in early times, the more common way is *Swarthmoor*; it is preferred by the descendants of Margaret Fell, and is so spelled in Fox's Journal.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM PENN; Daniel Cooledge.—In the BULLETIN for Third month, 1911 (vol. 4, No. 1), were six letters of William Penn, printed, as believed, for the first time. The editor's attention has since been called to the fact that five of these letters (Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6) had been printed in 1806. The

title of the little book is, "Some Memoirs of the Religious Life of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania, and one of the people called Quakers. To which is added LETTERS written, by him, on LOVE and FRIENDSHIP. 'Yea and all they that will live Godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.' Walpole (N. H.), Published by Daniel Cooledge, 1806. *William Fessenden, Brattleboro, Printer.*" 3½ x 5¼ in.; 31 pp.

In what way Daniel Cooledge secured those letters is not known.

From the well-informed Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Clarence S. Brigham, we learn that, "Daniel Cooledge was a bookseller and prominent member of the Society of Friends in New Hampshire. He published several other Friends' books, including William Penn's "Epistle," "Memoirs of John Roberts," "A Short History of a Long Travel from Babel to Bethel," "Principles of Religion Professed by Quakers," and the "Pious Instructor." In the latter volume are six letters by William Penn, a letter by William Mott, one by Richard Shackleton, and various other letters and epistles."

A TITLE-PAGE, and an Index for Volumes 3 and 4 of the BULLETIN will be issued with the next number.

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Haverford, Pa.
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Subscriptions, \$1.00 per annum. All members receive the BULLETIN, free.

ENGLAND VS. AMERICA, 1774.

DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL.

[The following letter of Dr. John Fothergill (1711-1780) has recently been found in a bundle of unsorted papers belonging to the Charles Roberts Autograph Collection, Haverford College. So far as known it has not hitherto been printed. It is of unusual interest, as the good doctor speaks out very freely regarding the policy and action of the British Government towards America. The letter bears no address, but an endorsement says: "This very curious and sensible letter is said to have been addressed to G. Ironside, then in India." This is probably an error, for E. (Edward) Ironside, an historical and antiquarian writer, who died in 1803.

Many of our readers will remember the valuable paper by Amelia M. Gummere, in number one of the BULLETIN, Tenth month, 1906, *An International Chess Party*, one of the company being Dr. Fothergill. Our readers are referred to this paper for information concerning the "good Doctor Fothergill," as Franklin calls him. The letter now printed was written by Dr. Fothergill less than a fortnight before the party described, and gives a very clear idea of what the Doctor's attitude must have been. The letter is in perfect condition.—EDITOR.]

MY WORTHY FRIEND:

I am so many letters in thy debt—and a variety of other obligations, that it has long been a burthen to me, equally difficult to discharge the obligations, as to bear the continual reproaches of a neglect bordering on ingratitude. Suffice it to say, that at the time when the ships sail for India I am incessantly engaged;—in the less occupied part of summer I do not write, not knowing but something of consequence may occur to be said—and thus season after season passes, with the same intentions, and the same want of execution.—

The last communication I received was this season containing the seeds and letter from Ja. Kerr. I am greatly obliged

to you both for the favour—And have endeavoured to serve him as efficaciously as I can. The directors have recommended him by name to the Governor & Council in India. I shall write to him I hope by this conveyance, and point out to him what may be necessary for him to do on the occasion.

In the preceding season I received along with some instructive papers from the same hand some very curious accounts and drawings of an ancient city.—I have hesitated much whether I ought to lay these before the publick in some proper manner—either by the Royal or Antiquarian Society. These papers would have been very acceptable to either and to many curious people—but as I hope they are to make a part of a history of Indostan, I rather chose to keep them back, than to diffuse them amongst my acquaintance till I had thy own permission. The account of funeral tragedy I received long since, should have been presented to the publick as well as these, if I thought I should not have been acting a part that Friendship and delicacy might have condemned me for—Let sometime or other the world be favoured with such an acc^t as my Friend can give—these specimens assure me of it—as much superior to the general Historys of travellers as Tacitus & Livy excel our present Historians.—Tell me what I am to hope for in this respect, and if nothing but slight sketches, yet massy compared with others, must be given to the publick, let me give them as they come to hand.

I take it for granted that all our Political pieces are constantly and regularly sent to India. I have enclosed one, however, because its object is a most important one, and the conduct of administration relative to the subject, of the highest consequence to the Brittish Empire. I must in the first place inform my Friend, that I have been on the side of America from the time the Stamp Act was first proposed, and have therefore beheld with much anxiety the subsequent measures of administration, which have brought us to the brink of a Gulph, which without the most consummate prudence and the interposition of Providence will swallow up the honour, wealth, power, and consequence of the Brittish Empire irrevocably.

Having thus described my complexion, it will be easy for a

more disengaged spectator to make the proper allowances for a degree of Party zeal which whilst it is solely disinterestedly pointed to measures not to men, is not altogether culpable.

I do not therefore hesitate to say that these measures have been uniformly oppressive—I do not think they have been so, as the Americans suppose systematically—but merely from that kind of disposition which leads John Bull always to think of his own importance in the first place, and to hate most heartily any other person who dare think he may be mistaken, the right and the wrong of the thing never makes a part of his consideration, when his supposed consequence is doubted.

Officers were sent from hence in civil departments extremely odious to the people of America. These officers being true John Bulls as well as those who sent them, soon quarrelled with people who did not wish for their company—They complained of insults which they had drawn upon themselves, and indignitys they suffered for want of sense. They soon found by complaining, that they rather afforded satisfaction at home than received the censure due for their officiousness. They provoked still more and found themselves always great gainers, by magnifying those very sufferings which their own imprudence had produced.—There was not an office but was filled with such kind of descriptions of American faction, perverseness, misrule, nay disloyalty.—Everybody about the Court and the Parliament spoke the same language,—and produced a temper most perfectly inimical to the inhabitants of that vast continent.

At the same time the people of every rank almost in this country were perfectly strangers to their power, usefulness, loyalty. Everything that could lessen and depreciate was most greedily listened to and all the branches of Legislature thoroughly imbued with an opinion that they could do what they would, and that a people so contumacious ought to be chastised, restrained, circumscribed within narrowed limits—Hence a series of acts which will everlastingly disgrace the annals of the present time. They begin to find the infant grown too much a man to be whipld [sic] like a schoolboy—and see with amazement, what they ought long since to have known, that between two and three mil-

lions of people in a country abounding with all the necessaries of life, cannot easily be kept in subjection by 8 millions of people at the distance of more than three thousand miles. They are stun'd with the view of an object as clearly defined—We have 5 or 6 thousand men in a province where they can muster above 50000 effective men, well trained, arm'd, disciplined and led by officers who fought at Louisburg, Martinico and the Havannah.

Gen. Gage must be very sensible that he owes his existence to the moderation of the Bostonians. With France, Spain, and all the nations of Europe trembling at our rapid progress to a grandeur and force unknown in these parts of the world; jealous to an extreme, how can we spare troops sufficient to subdue such Country? yet this is one province only. I should not doubt but a confederacy would bring into the field near 100,000 men. What force have we to oppose to such an army of Englishmen, rendered desperate by the prospect of oppression?

These and many other considerations have thrown administration into the deepest perplexity. How it will terminate cannot be divin'd. I hope however less impetuous councils will prevail, and that the legislature will think it most expedient to endeavour to bind those in a firm connection of mutual interest, which I believe they think, and which I am fully persuaded of, that it never will be in our power to cement to us by any other means.

I do not quite give our Sup.(?) the credit wch the Congress does—of endeavouring to enslave them by System.—I believe they are very happy if they can find expedients for the present moment—so far indeed System may prevail, that if a man is proud, haughty, overbearing his councils will retain a tincture of the disposition.

Perhaps my penchant to America may sometimes give a caricature to its enemys; be it so—But who could quite command himself when he sees the foundation of a most glorious fabrick, rising fast to meridian splendour dug up by piecemeal, through insufferable ignorance and pride?

Cast an eye upon the distant Possessions of all our neighbours—are they not so many pledges for their good behaviour,

whilst we and America are one? Was another war to break out between Spain and us—Not Porto Rico, not Cuba but Spanish America itself would be a proper object of our pursuit.

We can send Twenty men to all these places while Spain could send one—Shall we dismember such a part of the Brittish Empire for moonshine? But I ought to quit the subject—I should grow too warm. Should anything in the book way that I can supply be wanting, be kind enough to let me know, I know not how else to be of any use in return for the favours I have repeatedly received.

Pray give my cordial respects to thy very valuable consort and her sister—The unavoidable, incessant engagements of my profession prevented me from giving those proofs of my esteem, which their own good qualitys, as well as their near connection with my Friend, justly claimed from me.

We seem to want for a few years some unfeeling Asiatick despot to seduce us to some order. Perhaps atrocious crimes were never so oft committed in this country from the time of its being first inhabited. The signal clemency of the Prince, our sanguinary laws—cunning(?) including those we have—the increase of prostitution all unite in rendering those who have anything to lose extremely insecure. No endeavours seem to be used to effect an alteration.—Principle in general is lost and the appearance of it despised. Our newspapers furnish the neighbouring nations with the Strongest proof of national barbarity: they reproach us with it continually. How far the riches of the East may have contributed its share towards national corruption, I know not. Those who take up with first appearances, charge a great deal to this account. I think however, the West Indians have done more to corrupt us—not by means of immoderate wealth, but by example—they are the most strongly disposed to sensuality of most people who have a claim to the title of Britons. Accustomed to Libertinism with their slaves from a very early period—they retain this inclination thro' their lives.

It is some loss likewise to the publick, that there is very little religious persecution—For tho' it might hurt those who had the power to persecute, by cultivating the harsher dispositions,

yet it seldom failed of amending the objects of it, rendering them cautious humane, circumspect and devout—excellent qualitys.

The people of our Profession, who are pretty numerous in Pennsylvania, have behaved well in these contests. They did not add to a flame they could not controul—They wished to obtain redress by less violent measures—by Petition, by reason, by experience—but the exasperated Bostonians were incapable of listening to such councils.

Pray tell me what progress my Friend is making in the History of Indostan. Let J. Kerr add his remarks in Natural History—it must be a valuable collection. Let me have the satisfaction of serving the office of a whetstone once more.

Mr. Cleghorn published his account of Minorca Dr. Russel of Aleppo at my instigation. They have acquired much reputation, and done their country most signal service. Another Gentleman is doing same for Carolina; I am not idle in my sphere, tho of me it can only be said *Mutas agitat in gloriosus Artes*—May health and happiness—every precious blessing attend my Friend and his connections, is the wish of

JOHN FOTHERGILL.

The seal which was sent to me some time ago by my worthy Friend, writes me William instead of John—It makes no difference in reality, as nobody in this country will ever be able to read it. If it would not, however, be too much trouble to get another engraved, I could wish to have the Alteration made.

P.S. 24th.

Since I wrote the preceding I have been favoured with a sight of a part of your new code of laws—I am not a competent judge of its merit—but I think I can perceive in it a Tincture of that humanity which does honour to our species, and to our nation in particular, I never have drunk in those absurd notions which are vended here by the ignorant and malicious, of the rapine cruelty, and despotism said to be exercised by our countrymen in India in a general way—I could not think of them so far lost to the feelings of humanity. We are too generous and

brave to be cruel. I am glad that this production gives the Lye to this kind of malevolence.—Let us, however, cultivate benignity, both between ourselves, and with those we live amongst, and heaven will never forsake us—Adieu.

[Endorsed]

Doctor Jn^o Fothergill 1774
London

Date 22 Dec^r

Rec'd 21 Sept 1775 Pr Ankerwick (?)

Ans^d 27 Jan 1777

[In another handwriting]

This very curious & sensible letter is said
to have been addressed to G. Ironside
then in India.

WAS GEORGE DURANT A QUAKER?

BY JULIA S. WHITE.

In "The Quakers in the American Colonies" occurs the following sentence: "William Durand who was convinced by Elizabeth Harris in 1656/7 was a member of Cromwell's commission for the government of Maryland, and was the secretary of that commission. He seems soon after—apparently at the Restoration—to have moved to Carolina and to have settled a plantation on the Roanoke, and the George Durand conspicuous in early North Carolina history was apparently his son."

It was this statement which aroused new interest in George Durant and is perhaps the excuse for the present paper.

The point of land in North Carolina lying between the Perquimans and Little Rivers, and jutting into the Albemarle Sound, is the section which George Durant *bought* from the Yeopim Indians, and is still known as *Durant's Neck*. The spelling of

the same is with a final "t" rather than a "d." With emphasis upon the first syllable and with the variations to be found in early spelling, one can easily suppose Durand, Durant and Duren with great probability the same family name.

That the father of George Durant ever came to Carolina and that the Durants came *direct* from Maryland to Carolina, are new suggestions.

The certificate of George Durant's marriage is extant and he was married in Northumberland County, Virginia, by Reverend David Lindsay. "Parson Lindsay" in his will which was recorded in Northumberland County, Virginia, in 1667, April 8th, says, "I, David Lindsay, minister of God's word in Virginia." On his tombstone in the same county is the following: "Here lyeth the body of Mr. David Lindsay, Doctor of Divinity, etc.," so that David Lindsay must have been a "priest" in Quaker parlance. If George Durant had been a Quaker up to the time of his marriage, his method of marriage would have disowned him. Durant's immediate descendants in Carolina are found associated and identified with the Episcopal church; and in their family records there are no hints of Quaker ancestry by the use of Quaker phraseology in naming the months or days. About the *only* fact which can seem to indicate Quaker principles, was that George Durant *bought* his land from the Indians rather than simply seized it as most early settlers did. To be sure this was a strong Quaker tenet, but that others should not have equally honest hearts and endeavor, is making the Quakers far too superior to their fellow settlers.

This deed of George Durant's is still to be seen at the Court House in Perquimans County and is the oldest document in North Carolina state history. In the deed is the following statement: "Beginning at a marked oak tree, which divides this land from the land I formerly sold to Pricklove, etc." This seems to show that George Durant was not *alone* in this matter of *purchase* from the Yeopims. This was in 1662. Oldmixon says there were three hundred families in the Province in 1663. And when Henry Phillips came (1665), there must have been as many as five hundred families. Now Phillips settled on the Perquimans

River some fifteen or twenty miles further up the river, and when William Edmundson visits this family in 1672, he distinctly says "they wept for joy, not having seen a Quaker for seven years." Is it possible that a Quaker should have lived seven years in a place where people of like faith were near him without once visiting them or trying to have a meeting? And that, too, where the whole area was not more than forty square miles and all in easy access by water? Such was not the spirit of the early Quakers at other times and in other places, and we cannot think that Henry Phillips was less enthusiastic than his fellows. Besides, George Fox's itinerary makes him pass the plantation of George Durant, and neither he nor Edmundson make mention of any Friends save the family of Henry Phillips. With their careful statements in other matters, one can but conclude that George Durant had no connection with the Friends, at the time of their visits at least.

Whether or not George Durant was a Quaker is perhaps matter of little moment, or would be did there not hinge upon it the assertion frequently affirmed in early years, and more frequently denied in later years, that North Carolina was settled by religious refugees.

Lawson, the earliest historian of North Carolina, writing within fifty years (1709) of the events which he narrates, says of the settlement of Carolina; "With mild winters and a fertile soil beyond expectations . . . the fame of this new discovered summer country spread through the neighboring colonies and in a few years drew a considerable number of families thereto."

The journals of Edmundson and Fox both indicate that the people whom they found in Carolina had "no religion," and had they been religious refugees fleeing persecution or seeking freedom to "worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience," these early Quaker missionaries would certainly have known it. And further, had the people been members of some other church it is hardly possible that they could have been won over by the Friends in such large numbers. That in the four years intervening between the two visits of Edmundson much progress was made is a fact; that many leading men of

the Province became Friends is also a fact; and Edmundson, writing of his last visit, says of the progress (1676), "I had several precious meetings in that colony and several turned to the Lord: people were tender and loving, and there was no room for the priests, for Friends were finely settled and I left things well among them."

That the name of Durant should not be found in the Quaker records of this district is a silent witness to the negative answer to our question.

Later writers of North Carolina history, even those in our own state until the present generation, have seemed to disregard these early sources of information and have followed George Bancroft, who says: "Carolina has ever been the refuge of Quakers and renegades to ecclesiastical oppression." Bancroft cites Lord Culpepper as his authority. But Lord Culpepper's letter dated 1681, says that Carolina was "the refuge of our renegades;" but there is never a word as to what sort of renegades, nor a word about "ecclesiastical oppression." Because William Drummond was a Scotsman, Bancroft assumes he was a Presbyterian. For a man like Governor Berkeley to appoint a Presbyterian as his deputy must have been a case of dire necessity. It is more than likely that Drummond, like most politicians of that time, probably *professed* to be a churchman for politic reasons whatever may have been his real self. Bancroft equally assumes that George Durant must be a Puritan, because in 1648 (when Durant was only seventeen) Governor Berkeley had banished from Nansemond County, Virginia, one Mr. Durand, "The elder of a Puritan very orthodox congregation." Had this been George Durant, where has he been all these thirteen years—1662 is the date of his deed with the Indians. Had it been the *father* of George Durant, why should the son be back to Virginia for marriage and remain for some years thereafter.

Right Reverend Joseph Blount Cheshire, one of the most distinguished descendants of George Durant, of the present generation, writes me: "I have seen and carefully examined the family Bible of George Durant, the first settler of North Carolina; also the family Bible of his grandson of the same name.

. . . There is no reason whatever to suppose that George Durant's father was named Durand. That was a mere conjecture of Mr. Bancroft's long before our North Carolina records were accessible and is, I believe, entertained by no one at present who has examined the early documents. And George Durant seems to have had no connection with the Province of Maryland."

Charles McLean Andrews in Vol. V of Hart's "American Nation," page 158, says, "In that year (1663) and the year following a large number of Quakers *came into* the province, forming an influential body among the inhabitants." That an historical scholar of the present generation should make such an assertion is even more to be wondered at than that Bancroft should do it, especially since this generation of research workers in *Carolina* have uniformly come to a different conclusion.

The later mention of George Durant shows him a respected citizen of the Province, and for a time (1679) Attorney-General for the colony. Durant was a very active agent in the Culpepper Rebellion, and his home much of the time was a rallying point for the rebellious forces. Again I quote from the "Quakers in the American Colonies," p. 340, "The prevailing opinion among those who have described this Rebellion has been that Durand was a Quaker, but this seems impossible." But when we remember that Albemarle suffered much from foolish laws and injudicious instructions, as well as bad governors, it may be possible that this rebellion was due to the attempts of a body of honest settlers to get the most out of the circumstances in which they were placed, despite the policy of the proprietaries and the self-seeking of their appointees. Certainly *dislike* for *misgovernment* lay at the bottom of the *popular support* of the uprising. This being true, George Durant's *motives* could hardly be called un-quakerly however wide he may have diverged from the same in executing the motives. He proved himself not unlike his relative, one John Durant of London, of whom Isaac Disraeli tells us in his "Curiosities of Literature," that in the Lord's prayer he substituted the following; "Lord since thou hast now drawn out thy sword, let it not be sheathed again till it be glutted in the blood of the malignants," the malignants being the Cavaliers.

George Durant *had* a brother John of London; but whether this "bloody minded" chaplain of the Long Parliament was *the* John or not is yet to be determined.

Samuel A. Ashe, one of the greatest historical students in our state, thinks this John more than likely the *father* of George Durant of North Carolina fame.

George Durant's *positive* connection with the Quakers was first with one Timothy Biggs, a Friend who had married the widow of his neighbor, George Catchmaid. By a very unbusiness-like method Catchmaid had a claim upon Durant's property, wholly unwarranted and which Catchmaid himself never claimed; but which his heirs did claim to Durant's detriment.

Again, the Friends could or would, of course, have no part with Durant and his colleagues in the Culpepper Rebellion, and were in consequence harshly treated. As a result the Friends made petition to the Proprietors to redress the grievances suffered at the hands of Durant and the rebels, and when the Crown demanded that the Lords Proprietors should maintain established government in Carolina or forfeit their charter, compromise was made *with Durant as Attorney-General*. It was during this time when no doubt Durant had a directing influence in the colony that the Quakers complained grievously of the oppression by the administration, and wrote a remonstrance in which they say, we "are a separated people and have stood single from all the seditious actions which hath happened within this County of Albemarle. . . . Knowing assuredly that they have noe just [cause] for what they have Acted against us but only oute of their (?) Envie Except It bee for our fidelity to you our Proprietors and submission to the present Government then established In that we could nott joyne with them against the then President Thomas Miller Because wee were well persuaded what they acted against him was Envie, Malice."

Was George Durant a Quaker? No contemporary evidence proves that he was either a Quaker when he came to the colony, or that he ever became a convert to that faith, or that he professed any form of religion. Be that as it may, to every loyal North Carolinian the fact that George Durant and other early

settlers were men of such honor and honesty as to *purchase* their lands from the Indians, will always be matter for congratulation, whether they were Friends, or members of the Church of England, or members of no evangelical church.

Guilford College, North Carolina.

A CATALOGUE OF "EIGHTY-SEVEN PUBLICK
FFRIENDS YT HAVE DYED IN PENSILVANIA
SINCE YE FIRST SETTLEMENT
OF FRIENDS THERE."

[*Continued.*]

[NOTE.—The following corrections should be made in the first part of this list. (BULLETIN, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 140-147). Page 140, Editor's Note. The Minutes of London Yearly Meeting do not contain the list, but simply the Minute as quoted. The list is among the Manuscripts at Devonshire House. Press mark Portfolio 8. 89. Page 141, line 11 from top, "John Longhurst" should be "John Songhurst." "Westshire" should be followed by [Wiltshire].

Page 141, line 3 from bottom: "Brigtwen" should be "Brightwen," and the asterisk should be removed.

Page 142, line 6: Remove asterisk. The name "W^m Stockdall" and the entry under it should be placed before "W^m Brightwen" on page 141.

Page 144, line 6: "Sterjoring" should be "Steyning."

Page 144, line 7 from bottom: "1697" should be "1687."

Page 145, line 23: "hausworth" should be "hansworth."]

DECESED PUBLICK FFREINDS IN YE COUNTY
OF BUCKS IN YE PROVINCE OF PENSILVA

Jn^o Clows of Gowsworth in Chester Arriued in y^e
Year 1681 or 1682 and was Bur-
ried 5^{day} 5^{mo} 1682

- Cuthbert hayhurst of Ezington in Bowland in
Yorkshire arriued in the Year 1681 or
1682 was Burried The.....2^{day} 1^{mo} 1683
- Jam: Harrison of Bolton in y^e moores in Lan-
cashire Arriued in the Year 1681 or
1682 was Burried The.....8^{day} 8^{mo} 1687
- Rog^r Longworth of Bolton in mors in Lancashire
he Arriued from Barbados in y^e 3mo:
1687 and Was burried.....8.. 6.. 1687
- Thom^s Langkorne of Westmorland Arriued Ab^t y^e
Year 1686 and was Burried.....8.. 8.. 1687
- Thom^s Atkinson of Longadinham near Skipton In
Yorkshire Arriued in the Year 1684
Was Burried the.....1.. 9^{mo} 1687
- James Radcliffe of musbery In Rossendall in York
Shire Arriued in the year 1684 and
Was Burried y^e.....29.. 1.. 1690
- W^m Yardley of Rauselough near Leeke in Staf-
& fordshire Arriued in the Year 1681 or
1682 Was Burried the.....9.. 5^{mo} 1693
- Jane his Wife was Burried the.....28.. 6.. 1691
- Mary the wife of W^m Beakes of ffarleth [Farleigh]
in the Parish of Beackwell [Back-
well] in Somershire Ariued in y^e
Year 1681 or 16824.. 11^{mo} 1693
- Jn^o Scott of Wadington Parish in y^e County York
Arriued in the 6mo: 1699 was Burried
y^e 27.. 10.. 1700.....27.. 10.. 1700
- Publick ffreinds decased in Y^e County
Chest^r in y^e Prouince of Pensilly^a
- Jos^a ffearne Late of Asher in y^e County Darby Be-
longed to the monthly meeting at
Ashford he Arriued in y^e Y^r 1682 and
was Burried at Darby y^e 6.4mo.1693..6.. 4.. 1693

- Jn^o Roads of Ripley in y^e County Darby Belonged
to breach-house or hill top meeting
he Arriued in y^e Year 1700 and was
Burried att Darby y^e 27.. 8^{mo}.. 1702.. 27.. 8^{mo} 1702
- Ralph Withers from Bishop Cannons in Welstshire
[Wiltshire] Arriued in y^e Year 1682
or 83 and died Soone After.....168 $\frac{2}{3}$
- W^m Welch of London came into West Jarsey in y^e
Year 1683 removed to N: Castell in
the Territorus and Thare Died, was
Burried att Chester in y^e Year 1684.....1684
- Rich: ffew ffrom Markett Lauington in Wiltshire
Arriued ab^t y^e Year 1682 buried in
y^e year1689
- Thom^s Bracy from woleston [Willaston] near
namptwich in Cheshire Arriued ab^t y^e
Year 1682 and was Burried in y^e Year.....1691
- Jn^o Symcock from Ridley In Cheshire Arriued Ab^t
y^e Year 1682 and was Burried in
Chester in y^e Year1703
- Walt^r ffaucet from . . in Yorkshire Arriued in y^e
Y^r 1684 and was Burried in Chester
in y^e 2^{mo} 1704.....2^{mo} 1704
- W^m Clayton Came ffrom Chichester in y^e County
Sussex and Arriued ab^t Y^e Year 1677
or 1678 & died in y^e Year.....1688
- W^m Braintow Came from Sedgeley in y^e County
Stafford ab^t y^e Year 1684 or 85 and
he died in y^e Y^r.....1700
- Tho: Mercer of Andover in y^e County Wilts he
Arriued ab^t y^e Y^r 1682 or 83 and died
in y^e Y^r1694
- Elinor Park came with her Husband from Bristoll
ab^t y^e Year 1682 or 83 she died in
y^e Y^r1687

Ann Browne Daught^r of said Thom^s Mercer Came
in With her ffather and recd a Teste-
money for truth after her Arriuall
She was Burried in y^e Y^r 1696

An Acco^t: of y^e Deseased Publick ffrd^s:
Belonging to The monthly meeting at
Burlington In West Jarsey.

W^m Peachy of London Arriued in 1677 was Bur-
ried @ Burlington The 20.. 1.. mo..
1688 20.. 1m^o 1688

Jn^o Skeine Came from Aberdeen in Scotland was
Burried neare his owne house in the
township of North Hampton..... 27: 6m^o: 1690

Thom^s Olliue came from Wellingborough in north-
hamptonshire in y^e Y^r 1677 and was
Burried in ffrd^s Buring Place in
northampton township y^e 4.. 9^{mo} 1692.. 4.. 9m^o 1692

Rich^d Guy of London Arriued in y^e Y^r: 1675 and
was burried att Burlington y^e 10..
10mo 1693 10.. 10.. 1693

Danill Wills of northampton he Arriued in y^e Y^r
1677 and Liued in the township
called N:hampton untill y^e Year
1698 and About the Begining of the
Same Year he went to Barbados and
was Burried in ffrds Buring Ground
Thare y^e 26.. 3^{mo}.. 1698..... 26.. 3^{mo} 1698

The Publick ffreinds decd:

Belonging to y^e monthly meeting att
Chesterfeild in y^e County Burlington Viz^t—

Jn^o Horner Came out of Comberland and was
Burried neare his house in the town-
ship Called mansfeild y^e..... 25^d.. 2^{mo}.. 1689

- Sarah Deuenport the Wife of ffrancis Deuenport
 Came out of Darby Shire and was
 Burried in ffreinds Burring Place In
 Chest^r ffeilds township y^e.....14.. 4^{mo}.. 1691
- Mahlon Stacey Came out of Yorkshire in y^e Y^r
 1678 where he Belonged to a meeting
 neere Sinder hills Green he was Bur-
 ried in ffreinds Buring Ground in
 Nottingham Township y^e 5.. 2..^{mo}..
 17045^{day} 2^{dmo} 1704
- Jn^o Wilsford Came from ffeny Stanton in Hunts
 he was breud in Burlington.

An Acco^t of decd Publick ffreinds
 Belonging to y^e Monthly meeting of Gloucester
 In West Jarsey

- Mark Newbery Came from Cublin [probably in-
 tended for Dublin—the word has been
 partly altered] in Ireland in y^e mo:
 1681 and was burried in ffrd^s Buring
 Ground in New town In y^e 6^{mo} 1683... 6.. 1683
- Jn^o White Came from Carlow in Ireland in y^e Be-
 gining of y^e Y^r 1683 and was Buried
 in new town aforesd In y^e Same Y^r.....1683

Thom^s: }
 & } Thackera Came from dublin In y^e Y^r
 Hest^r } 1681 they both died at new town
 aforesd he red a Gift of ministrey
 after his Arriuell— { She was buried...5.. 3^{mo} 1686
 { her husband
 { was Buried...13.. 7.. 1702

- Allice Wood the wife of Jn^o Wood of Rossendall
 in Lancashire Came thence In the
 Year 1682 she deceased at wood-
 berry Creeke In the County of Glou-
 cester and Was Burried The.....3^{day} 8^{mo} 1693^{year}

Sarah y^e wife } her maiden name was ffearne
 of Thom^s: Sharpe } She Came a Sing[1]e woman
 Into this Countrey out of Darby
 shire Ab^t y^e Year 1682 and recd a
 Publick Testamoney after her Arri-
 uell She was Burried At new town
 the 2^d: 9^{mo}.. 1699.....2.. 9^{mo} 1699

Marg^t the wife
 of Will^m Cooper Came with her Said Husband out
 of Buckinghamshire in the Year
 1678 and Settled att Burlington and
 was Burried att n:Town The.....1^{mo} 1699

W^m Baite Came from Wicklow in Ireland in the
 Y^{er} 1681 was Burried at N: Town y^e
 8.. 9^{mo} 1700.....8.. 9^{mo} 1700

Jn^o Adams Born in New England Came from
 fflushing on Long Island to West
 Jarsey and had a Gift of The mines-
 tery Before he Came here he deced
 The 29.. 10^{mo} 1703.....29^{day} 10^{mo} 1703

[Endorsements:]

The number & names of
 Deceased ffrds In Pensilvania
 East & West Jarsey a Coppy
 Exa: ⚔ Sam: Carpenter

Read in y^e yearly meet 1709.
 B. B* to lay up

69 In Pensilvania
 18 In the Jarseys

—
 87

* Benjamin Bealing, the Recording Clerk of London Y. M.

[Copied from a MS. at Devonshire House, Portfolio S. 89]

THE PURCHASE OF SWARTHMOOR HALL.

The BULLETIN of Eleventh month, 1912, reprinted from the London *Friend*, a letter of Thomas Hodgkin, giving a statement of the terms upon which Swarthmoor Hall had been purchased in the interests of the Society of Friends. It seems, however, that Miss Abraham entertained views regarding the terms of purchase quite different from those who contributed to the purchase fund in the interest of Friends. After protracted negotiations between the counsel of the two parties, a compromise arrangement has been agreed upon substantially as follows:

1. The property is to be conveyed to Miss Emma C. Abraham, she paying the purchase money, £5,250. Of this sum, one half is advanced to Miss Abraham by the Friends, to be secured by a mortgage with interest at 3% per annum in favor of certain "Selected Friends," who will practically act as Trustees for the Society. This mortgage is not to be called in during the joint lives of Miss Abraham and her nephew, E. Mitford Abraham of British Columbia, or the survivor of them, provided certain covenants and provisions are observed by the mortgagor and the option agreement mentioned below remains in force.

2. Miss Abraham is to execute an agreement with the selected Friends containing provisions to the following effect:
(1) These Friends and the survivors of them, are to have an option to purchase the property within six months after the death of the survivor of Miss Abraham and her nephew, E. Mitford Abraham, on the receipt of a notice from the Limited Owner (Miss Abraham or E. Mitford Abraham). The price under the option is to be £5,250, plus the value of additions, alterations or improvements (unexhausted) or new buildings approved or consented to by these Friends, less the amount at the time due upon the mortgage if then subsisting.

3. During the continuance of the option the Limited Owner is not to sell, or dispose of the property or any part of it otherwise than by will or by letting it for not more than five years,

unless she first gives these selected Friends six months' notice, and they do not within that period give a counter-notice of their desire to purchase the property under the option. If the property is disposed of by will, the devisee under the will is to hold it subject to the option if still exercisable.

4. Covenants are made by Miss Abraham that without the consent of these selected Friends no material alteration or addition is to be made, no mines are to be opened, and no minerals are to be removed or excavated otherwise than for use on the property; that the property is not to be used for any other purpose than as a private dwelling-house, farm or like agricultural use, and that no trade or business is to be carried on thereon, and that the sale of intoxicating liquors is not to be allowed on the property, but the owner or occupying tenant may receive lodgers, boarders or paying guests of a respectable class; that reasonable facilities, free of charge, are to be given for the Friends and the public, to go over and view the property for its historical interest; that these Friends and persons authorized by them may view the condition of the property at reasonable times; that the Limited Owner will keep the house and buildings, panellings and other fixtures and fittings in good and substantial repair, and insured.

There will be almost universal regret that at present only a deferred ownership for Friends is practicable, but it will be seen from the above condensation of the agreements, that the Society of Friends will ultimately acquire complete ownership of this cradle of Quakerism.

Miss Abraham is a lineal descendant of Margaret Fell, and one can sympathize with her in her desire that the family should again possess the property sold long ago by an ancestor through stress of circumstances. Still, under existing conditions, and in view of the purpose of the would-be purchasers to preserve the property, and honor not only the memory of George Fox, but also the name of her great ancestor, one can but wish that she had been willing to allow them to fulfill their unselfish desire.

The "Selected Friends" are as follows:

WILLIAM HANBURY AGGS	GEORGE LLOYD HODGKIN
EDWARD BACKHOUSE	ALFRED JOHN KING
ALFRED BROOKS	GERALD B. LLOYD
EDWARD CADBURY	JAMES DOYLE PENROSE
ROGER CLARK	ALBERT LEOPOLD RECKITT
WILLIAM WATERHOUSE GIBBINS	ERNEST WILLIAM ROWNTREE
WILFRED GRACE	ALLAN TANGYE
THOMAS EDMUND HARVEY, M. P.	ANTHONY WALLIS

THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
BUILDING OF TWELFTH STREET MEETING
HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

WILLIAM S. YARNALL.

The finger of time was directed last year with peculiar significance toward the little white stone in the Eastern gable of Twelfth Street Meeting House and its long familiar date, 1812. To the communicants of many cathedrals in the old world one hundred years would appear "as a hand breadth," but to the members of Western District Monthly Meeting, a Centennial Anniversary seemed an occasion worthy of especial honor.

A Monthly Meeting held early in the year directed ample provision for furthering the plan of its Committee, and so it was that a quiet celebration took place Tenth Month 26th, 1912.

Interested Friends from far and near were bidden, in number about 1200. Accompanying each invitation was a souvenir sketch by Joseph Pennell representing Twelfth Street Meeting House in its Centennial year.

Only fancy can picture this mute sentinel in almost suburban peacefulness and quiet as its doors were thrown open to its earliest worshipful assemblies.

To many of us, perhaps, the only connecting memory is of the splendid elm tree, which, itself a scion of the "Treaty Elm," spread its graceful proportions over the South Entrance through

many decades, and but lately succumbed to the inevitable march of time.

But whatever other changes time may have wrought there was abundant evidence on that radiant Autumn afternoon that the children of Twelfth Street Meeting still arise to proclaim her blessedness. Some six hundred persons were assembled when at 4 p.m. the first session was opened by the reading of Ephesians III. 14-21. After some introductory remarks by the Chairman of the Committee, a short history of the Meeting was read by Mary M. Vaux. The old Meeting House at Second and Market having gone into disuse after the building of the Meeting House at Fourth and Arch Streets, the site was sold and a part of the proceeds applied to the purchase of the lot and the building of the "Meeting House on Twelfth Street." Some of the wood work of the old Meeting House was used in the new building. A small account book containing receipts for sums paid for "masonry, carpenter work, iron-mongery," etc., during construction, was presented to the Monthly Meeting during the preparation of the Centennial. It contains many interesting signatures of Friends of 1812. The building committee, represented by James Cruikshank, Thomas Stewardson and John Evans, reported under date of Eleventh Month 23d, 1812, "that a Meeting House has been erected on Twelfth Street between Market and Chestnut Sts."

The first Monthly Meeting was held Third Month 16th, 1814, with a membership of three hundred and twenty-six. It was a matter of great interest to hear from Joshua L. Baily some reminiscences of Friends who have been more or less prominent since the establishment of the meeting. His membership was transferred, with that of his widowed mother, from Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1832. This brief report permits only the mention of the names of a few Friends whose personalities were revived by his vivid recollection, such as Thomas and Mary Wistar, Ellis and Mary Yarnall, Benjamin and Jane Johnson; of the valiant services of some in times of plague, etc.; of the faithful labors of Samuel Bettle, William U. Ditzler and John H. Dillingham.

The recalling of these names and many more opened the

way for much pleasant intercourse during the social time which followed this paper. In the Committee Room, beneath the great historic beams in the supper room and in a tent in the north yard, groups of people entered into the spirit of the celebration as they together "broke bread" around a bountiful table.

Joel Cadbury read the 100th Psalm at the opening of the evening meeting; after which Amelia Mott Gummere presented a paper, "Quaker Philadelphia of 1812." By this sketch we were quickly borne into an atmosphere of quaint wigs and small clothes, of silver knee buckles, of drab and brown costumes, of Yearly Meeting Friends arriving by means of chair or gig or saddle, or even on foot (blissfully unconscious of the luxuries of rapid transit), and of the unostentatious but genuine hospitality that marked the life of the young Republic.

The entertainment concluded with a paper, "The Strength and weakness of Philadelphia's Yearly Meeting" by Isaac Sharpless. The history of the life and spirit of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was presented in brief review, of the causes which led to the want of fulfillment of all that the "real Quaker spirit and ideals" stands for. We were pointed to the hope of the enlarged opportunities in the present, of the introduction of "College Standards and habits of thought" in almost every household, of the advantages thus afforded to the future of our Society. And so the closing of an era was marked not only by a spirit of celebration, but with a sense that a wider interpretation of Quaker ideals beckon us to yet a larger service as we rally round the spiritual banner which was unfurled by those faithful Friends one hundred years ago in the name of Christianity. Philadelphia, Second Month 25th, 1913.

THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., LITT.D.

1831-1913.

In the sudden death of Thomas Hodgkin at Falmouth, 3 month 2, 1913, the Society of Friends has lost one of its foremost members, and a distinguished scholar. As an historian, Dr. Hodgkin had an international reputation, and it is likely that his great work "Italy and her Invaders," in eight volumes, will

long remain a standard work. In addition to these volumes, he published in the field of ancient and medieval history, "The Letters of Cassiodorus," "Theodosius," "Theodoric the Goth," and "Charles the Great" (Charlemagne); Besides these he wrote an admirable brief "Life of George Fox," in the "Leaders of Religion Series," "History of England from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest," being volume I of the "Political History of England" (1906), and in 1911 he published a volume of collected papers and addresses, the "Trial of Our Faith and Other Essays," and "Human Progress and the Inward Light, The Swarthmore Lecture, 1911." (See BULLETIN, vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 110, 111). Besides all these he was a frequent contributor to *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*.

His delightful and vivid style made almost everything he wrote, attractive. He was one of those writers who believed in making history live. "Dr. Hodgkin was not a curious student of dead empires, so much as a reader of character, a student of tendency, an observer who from his high tower traced out the far-off and dim outlines of kingdoms past and kingdoms yet to come."

Dr. Hodgkin was deeply interested in all that makes for freedom, and above all he was a deep and earnest Christian. He was not only by birth, but by profound conviction, a Friend. In his seventy-eighth year, he went to Australia and New Zealand, visiting the Meetings of Friends and many isolated families, carrying cheer and comfort to many. He was the prime mover in the purchase of Swarthmoor Hall. Only those who have associated with him personally can know what was his charming personality, his fund of knowledge, and his sympathetic, loving spirit. It has been well said of him by one of his friends: "When we think of Thomas Hodgkin, scholar, historian, preacher, we think of a man whose presence added dignity and refinement to any assembly, whose rich and mellow voice seemed attuned to great utterance and noble thought, whose cultivated mind measured history with a genuine catholicity, and whose heart not only accorded well with his mind but possessed a depth of love as uncommon as it was wide."

BOOKS, ETC., RECENTLY ISSUED, AND OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

The Quakers in the Old Northwest. By Harlow Lindley, Director Department of Archives and History, Indiana State Library. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Volume V. [1912]. 8vo. 15 pp.

This short monograph by the Professor of History and Librarian of Earlham College, treats of a field in which there is still opportunity for much historical research. The "Old Northwest" means the old Northwest Territory, comprising the territory of the United States north of the Ohio River, east of the Mississippi, and west of New York and Pennsylvania. The paper is but a sketch, and a fuller treatment with references to authorities from the same pen would be acceptable.

The Friends' Year-Book for 1913. Fifth Year of Issue. London: Headley Brothers, 13 Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, E. C. Price, one shilling net. By post 1/2. 18mo, pp. 168. Though no editor's name appears on the title page, we learn from the list of "Periodical Publications," page 124, that the editor is our friend Norman Penney, which is a guarantee that the work is well done. A hearty welcome is due this little volume, which is invaluable for all who wish accurate knowledge regarding present day Quakerism in Great Britain and Ireland. Information concerning all the fields of work, both at home and abroad, in which English and Irish Friends are interested can be found here, as well as many useful suggestions for organization and service in any field. Not only official but extra-official associations are given, some of which seem rather strange to American readers. Among these are Friends' Anti-Vivisection Association, Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, Socialist Quaker Society, and Friends Vegetarian Society. The long list of official and extra-official committees, societies, associations, trusts and other organizations, affords a graphic picture of the wide interests and activities of British Friends. An interesting section of the Year Book is that entitled, "Notes on Recent Literature," by A. Neave Brayshaw, which gives a brief survey of books and papers by Friends, and those relating to Friendly interests.

The Ejectment of 1662 and the free Churches. London. National Council of Evangelical Free Churches. 16mo, 143 pp., 1912. 1/.

This little volume, issued on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the "Ejectment Act" of 1662 and its effect on the Free Churches of England, contains a number of references to the Friends of that period. The principal Non-conformist bodies of the day have separate chapters prepared by different hands, but the Friends "have no chapter in this

volume, for the Ejection, as such, could not touch them; they had no minister to be ejected." The editor goes on to say: "But if they do not figure in 1662 among the ejected ones, what prison was not inhabited by them? Fines, banishment, insults, scourgings, shameful imprisonments—they never failed them, for more than twenty-five years." (p. 6). Again, "But as elsewhere so in Wales, in the roll of pure suffering between 1660 and 1683, the Friends have primacy of honor. On them were laid the heaviest crosses; they were the familiars of prison walls and the inheritors of prison disease—though prison is even too good a name for the noisome temporary cells where many of them were confined when the soldiers of good conscience had overcrowded ordinary jails." (p. 137).

Teachers and Taught Text Books on Religious Education. Edited by S. Allen Warner. 16mo. London: Headley Brothers, 1912. 1/ each, cloth. Five volumes ready.

This series is issued under the direction of the Friends First Day School Association. Various writers contribute to the work, not all Friends. The intrinsic value of such works can only be proved by actual use, but so far as a cursory examination can show, the design and execution are extremely good. The titles of the volumes are: *Concerning Religious Education*, S. Allen Warner, editor; *Method in Religious Education*, by Mildred F. Field; *Period of the Patriarchs*, by L. Isabel Harvey; *The Period of the Exodus*, by S. Allen Warner; *The United Monarchy*, by C. C. Graveson.

Minutes of the Five Years Meeting of the Friends in America, Held in Indianapolis, Indiana, Tenth Month 15 to Tenth Month 22, 1912. Published by Direction of the Five Years Meeting. Nicholson Printing & Mfg. Co., Richmond, Indiana [1913]. 12mo, 304 pp., cloth. 60 cents.

This neat looking volume contains the official Minutes of the Meeting, which include, besides the Minutes proper, the names of Delegates, Fraternal Delegates, and the names of the officers and committees of the Meeting. The pages to which many will turn with most interest are the Reports made by the various Commissions, On Bible Schools; Efficiency of the Five Years Meeting; Evangelization and Church Extension; On the Meeting and Its Pastoral Care; On a Publishing House and Denominational Literature; On Social Service; and On Young People's Activities. Imperfect and incomplete as such reports must necessarily be, they contain a vast amount of information and much food for serious thought. Never has the Society had such a comprehensive view of conditions within its borders presented before its members. It should be noted that most of the reports were more or less modified by the meeting, but chiefly in the matter of suggestions and recommendations made by the Commissions.

The Message and Mission of Quakerism. By William C. Braithwaite and Henry T. Hodgkin, M.A., M.B. Published by direction of the Five Years Meeting. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1912. 16mo, pp. 151. 60 cents. London: Headley Brothers, 2/ and 1/.

"The two addresses which compose this book were delivered at the Five Years Meeting of the Society of Friends held in Indianapolis, Indiana, from October 15th to 22, 1912. They were listened to with profound interest and appreciation, and were approved by a Minute which also ordered their publication." These words from the "Foreword" of the book by Rufus M. Jones, give the history of this small volume. Those who heard the addresses in Indianapolis will be more than glad to have the opportunity of reading them at leisure. Small as the volume is, it is one of the most valuable books relating to Friends that has been issued in many a day. All thoughtful Friends should read it. In the words of the "Foreword," "Here in this little book will be found in convenient form, a fresh and illuminating expression of the truths, principles and ideals of present-day Quakerism, and some of the practical problems confronting the modern world which the application of those truths, principles and ideals might solve."

Robert Barclay: His Life and Work. By M. Christabel Cadbury. Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, London, E. C., 1912. 16mo, 120 pp. 2/.

This small volume is a most welcome addition to Quaker Literature. The only regret is that there is not more of it. It can be highly commended. The four illustrations are interesting; two of them "Gordons-town House," and the "Mausoleum of the Barclays at Ury, near Stonehaven," will be new to most readers. A chart shows very clearly the connection between Robert Barclay and the royal house of Stuart. Robert Barclay and Charles II and James II were all of the eighth generation from James I, King of Scotland (b. 1394; d. 1437). There was, indeed, a double connection, for John Gordon of the fourth generation married Helen Stuart, sister of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, the husband of Mary Queen of Scots, who was also descended from James I of Scotland.

The Journal of the Friends Historical Society, First Month (January) 1913. Vol. X, No. 1. London. This number is full of interesting matter. Those who have attended Edinburgh Friends Meeting will be attracted to William F. Miller's paper, *Reminiscences of Some Old Edinburgh Friends*. The remaining papers are rather shorter than usual, but they contain many valuable historical and personal data. The editor continues his additional annotations on George Fox's Journal, (Cambridge Journal). "Friends in Current Literature," and "Notes and Queries" have much interesting information.

Studien über die Sozialpolitik der Quäker. Von Dr. ver. pol. Auguste Jörn. Karlsruhe, i. B. G. Braunsche Hofbuchdruckerei und Verlag, 1912. 8vo. pp. xii, 151. 4 marks.

"Miss Jorns was sent from the University of Freiburg in Breisgau to collect materials in the Reference Library, Devonshire House, for a thesis on the social and philanthropic work of the Society of Friends." It is rather a discredit to Friends that the first really scholarly work on this interesting subject should come from the hands of a German lady. It would be a fine piece of work for some Friend familiar with German, to translate this volume, annotate it, and provide it with an index. It would make a valuable book of reference. The thoroughness of the work is indicated by the number and selection of the sources named in the Bibliography of twelve pages. An admirable review and summary by Isaac Sharp, will be found in Friends Quarterly Examiner, Tenth Month, 1912.

The Open Sore of Christendom. By the Rev. W. J. Sexton, M.A., L.Th., B.D., Author of Church and People. London: J. & J. Bennett Ltd. [1912]. The moderate-sized book with this rather unpleasant title contains a brief chapter on "the Quakers." The author is a thorough-going Churchman, and while his account is fairly correct, he fails to recognize the timeliness or value of Fox's message. Few would guess the "open sore" to be the fact of sects or denominations. They are, in the view of the author, greatly to be deplored. The remedy for this "sore," the author believes, is union with the Church of England. "She is not a sect," he says, "She did not commence in an act of separation. She has a Vision of Unity. . . . She presents, we believe, the aspect of a friend desirous of being reconciled to those who have separated from her." The author goes on: "She is reformed and yet continuous with the Primitive Church. She stands by the Bible. She holds to the historic creeds and œcumenical councils. . . . She has the true sacramental system safeguarded not only by a lawful ministry, but also by an august and ancient liturgy. . . . She has retained, we believe, the Historic Episcopate. Yet she recognizes the continuance of the free gift of Prophecy by increasingly permitting laymen to teach and to preach" (pp. 318-321). It is always interesting to have a frank presentation of views, but it is most unlikely that this "open sore" will ever be closed by the acceptance of what the author calls the "Quadrilateral"; The Holy Scriptures; the two Creeds [Apostles and Nicene]; the two Sacraments [Baptism and the Supper]; and the Historic Episcopate [Apostolical Succession]. Rather than accept such a basis of union the "sects" are likely to remain "sects" for an indefinite period. Incidentally the book shows that there is still need for the presentation of the Quaker position.

The Early History of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Jennings Cropper Wise, Member Virginia Historical Society. The Bell Book and Stationery Co., Richmond, Virginia, 1911. 8vo, pp. 4, 406. \$2.00 net.

The above is the binders' title; that on the title page is somewhat fanciful, Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke, on the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. The author is evidently not a practiced hand, or his work would have been more attractively and logically put together. There are many historical documents of interest included. One chapter contains several pages relative to the Quakers on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, a subject about which there is not much material available.

Experiments in Industrial Organization. By Edward Cadbury., with a Preface by W. J. Ashley, Ph.D., Professor of Commerce in the University of Birmingham. Longmans, Green, & Co., London, 1912. Cr. 8vo. pp. xxi, 296, 5/.

Those who are interested in the relations of Capital and Labor, and the organization of large works and factories, should by all means read this book. It is a careful study and account of the extensive cocoa and chocolate works of the Cadbury Brothers at Bournville, near Birmingham, England. There is also a chapter on the "Bournville Estate," and Bournville Village, "the model village." The number of employees of the Cadbury Brothers, Ltd., on the 31st December, 1911, was: men and boys, 2735; women and girls, 3447; total, 6182. Of these 457 were boys; 2278 men 18 or over; 1605 girls under 18, and 4547 women 18 or over. The record given is exceedingly valuable and instructive.

George Fox as a Mystic. By Josiah Royce. The Harvard Theological Review, January, 1913. Cambridge, Massachusetts. Published by Harvard University. 50 cents. 8vo, pp. 29.

Those who heard Professor Royce, of Harvard, deliver this paper at Bryn Mawr College some years ago, as the "Founder's Lecture," will be glad to see it in print. Professor Royce, since the death of William James doubtless the foremost philosopher in America, gives in this article a philosophic study of Fox. It is an unusual point of view and will well repay most careful perusal. It is a sympathetic treatment, and one cannot but feel that the author, entering upon his study with an open mind, has grown to appreciate his subject in no small degree during his investigations.

His conclusion is that Fox's theology "was nearer to becoming an idealism, in the modern sense, than to being a Mysticism in the classical sense. Above all, the Light taught this unresting soul how to labor amid all the storms and lured hatred of his day, not in vain, but humanely, valiantly, and beneficently."

The Whittier Fellowship Guest House. Being an Account of the Young Friends' Conference from the Fourth of the Seventh Month to the Eleventh of the same, 1912, at Hampton Falls in New Hampshire. Philadelphia, Printed for the Fellowship Committee by the Biddle Press, Twelfth Month, 1912, pp. 71, illustrated. To be had of Horace M. Lippincott, 704 Hale Building, Philadelphia. 50 cents.

This very attractive little book tells all about the Young Friends' Conference, and also gives papers read upon Peace, Social Service, Worship, etc., etc. It is a valuable contribution to the literature of present-day active Quakerism. The eleven illustrations of scenes at and near Hampton Falls, are unusually good.

The United States versus Pringle. Atlantic Monthly, February, 1913. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Company, pp. 18. 35 cents.

The paper with this rather curious title is the diary of Cyrus Guernsey Pringle of Vermont, a Friend who, "on July 13, 1863, in company with two fellow Quakers of Charlotte, Vermont, was drafted for service in the Union Army." Through conscientious scruples the young men would not bear arms, or allow of substitutes. Cyrus Pringle died not long ago, and the diary is now given to the public.

The story of their trials, imprisonments, and sufferings is told with simplicity and force. In the end President Lincoln released the young men on parole. The account well deserves reading.

History of English Nonconformity. By Henry W. Clark. Vol. II. From the Restoration to the Close of the Nineteenth Century. London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd. 1913. 8vo. Pp. xx, 458. 15/.

The first volume of this important work was published in 1911, and was briefly noticed in the BULLETIN for Third month, 1912. As in the first volume, the attitude of the author in the second volume is discriminating and sympathetic. His account of Quakerism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is very suggestive. A curious slip is made in a note on the Wilbur Controversy, where he speaks of John Wilbur "leading those who stood by Gurney." P. 366, note.

NOTES AND QUERIES

QUAKERS AND PARLIAMENT, 1659. In W. C. Braithwaite's *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 454, 455, there is an account of one of the most striking incidents in early Quaker history—that where “one hundred and sixty-four Friends, from London and other parts, came together in Westminster Hall on the 15th and 16th of April, 1659, and sent in to the House a paper offering their bodies, person for person, to lie in jail in the place of their imprisoned friends.” The following reference to this petition occurs in a newspaper of the time or what answers to a newspaper, the “*Mercurius Politicus*.” [COMPRISING] The sum of Foreign Intelligence, with the Affairs now on foot in the Three Nations [OF] ENGLAND, SCOTLAND and IRELAND [For Information of the People]—*Ita vertere Seria* { *Horat. de Ar. Poet* | *From Thursday, April 14 to Thursday, April 21, 1659.* | *Friday, April 15.* This day, and the following, a great number of a sort of People called Quakers, come up to London from several parts, assembled themselves in *Westminster-Hall*, with intent to represent somewhat to the House touching the men of their way. *Saturday, 16 April.* A Paper (written on the outside thereof, with these words, namely, *For the*

Speaker of the Commons assembled in Parliament. These are for him to read to the House of Commons) was this day read. And upon the reading thereof, the same (amongst other things) referred to another Paper, entituled, *A Declaration to the Parliament, etc., Delivered the Sixth day of the second Moneth called April, 1659, to the then Speaker of the said House.* The said Papers were presented by certain persons commonly called Quakers; and some of them being called in by Order of the House, received the Answer following at the Bar, *viz.* That this House hath read their Paper, and doth declare their dislike of the Scandals thereby cast upon Magistracy and Ministry; and doth therefore Order, That they do forthwith resort to their respective Habitations, and there apply themselves to their Callings, and submit themselves to the Laws of the Nation, and the Magistracy they live under.”

This reply is what might have been expected from the Parliament of Richard Cromwell.

The documents above referred to may be found in Besse's *Sufferings*, vol. I., iv., v., and also in A. R. Barclay's *Letters of the Early Friends*, pp. 62-69, where the names of the 164 Friends are given.

SWARTHMOOR OR SWARTHMORE AGAIN.—Professor W. I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, has an interesting and full paper in the *Friends Intelligencer* for Third month 8, 1913, on "*Swarthmore*" and "*Ulverstone*." In this the history of the spelling of the word is exhaustively treated so far as the writings of Friends are concerned. He finds that "in Norman Penney's *verbatim et literatim* edition of George Fox's Journal the name is spelled in six different ways. *Swarthmoore* occurs 52 times; *Swarth moore* (two separate words) 2 times; *Swarthmoor* 3 times; *Swarthmore* 9 times; *Swarth More* 2 times; *Swarthmor* 2 times; and *Swarthmor* 1 time . . . It is interesting to note that a deed, dated the 16th of Ninth month, 1687, speaks of "George ffox of *Swarthmore* in ye County of Lancaster, gentleman," and a Latin document of 1697, speaks of "*Swarthmore* in Com. Lancastriae. . . ." The first editing of Margaret (Fell) Fox's Journal, ("A Brief Collection," etc.), published in London in 1710, uses the form of *Swarthmore* throughout, except that in one place Margaret spells it *Swarthmor*." Professor Hull goes on to quote Sewel, who, in both the Dutch and English editions of his History, uses the

form *Swarthmore*. The ancient pronunciation of the name, he argues, from the forms *moore* and *more*, must have been "more."

"As to the origin of the name," Professor Hull says, "it is now generally accepted to have been derived from the *Swart*, or *Black Moor* which in early times covered a large portion of the Furness district of Lancashire, in which *Swarthmore Hall* was built.

Professor Hull's conclusion is "that while our British brethren may well continue to write *Swarthmoor* and *Ulverston* if only for the purposes of differentiation, the American spelling and pronunciation of *Swarthmore* and *Ulverstone* are justified by historic usage."

CENTENNIAL OF OHIO YEARLY MEETING. It is proposed to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the opening of Ohio Yearly Meeting next summer. The Yearly Meeting was set off from Baltimore Yearly Meeting and opened "the third First day in the Eighth month, 1813." The Minutes establishing the Meeting were printed in the BULLETIN for Eleventh Month, 1907, vol. 1, pp. 117-119.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting for 1913 was held in Twelfth Street Meeting on the evening of 2 mo. 18.

It was well attended. The committee which had been appointed to consider the establishment of a memorial to mark the birthplace of John Woolman, reported, that after careful consideration, and an examination of the supposed site that it did not seem desirable to take any further steps in the matter. The committee was discharged.

It was suggested that a suitable memorial of John Woolman would be the publication *verbatim et literatim* of an edition of his Journal from the original manuscript which differs in some respects from the present printed copies. After some discussion, the proposition was approved by the Society, and the whole matter was referred to a special committee, with power to act, if in their judgment such a course was advisable.

Samuel W. Pennypacker, president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by previous invi-

tation, gave an exceedingly interesting address on "Some Precursors of George Fox."

 LIST OF OFFICERS AND COUNCILLORS, 1913.

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Vice-Presidents, Isaac Sharpless,
Amelia M. Gummere.

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Lucy B. Roberts,
Samuel N. Rhoads,
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Edward E. Wildman.

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Francis R. Taylor,
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Arthur H. Thomas.

Secretary, Mary S. Allen.

Treasurer, Mary S. Allen.

BULLETIN OF

Friends' Historical Society

OF

Philadelphia

(Founded Fifth Month 16, 1904)

VOLUMES III-IV

1909-1912

Philadelphia
FERRIS & LEACH
29 S. Seventh Street

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Haverford, Pa.

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DAVID LLOYD.

BY ISAAC SHARPLESS.

David Lloyd was born in Montgomeryshire, Wales, in 1656. Thomas Lloyd speaks of him in a letter as "my kinsman," though the relationship was probably not near.

Comparatively little is known of his early history. In some way he secured an accurate and available knowledge of law. His first wife was from Gloucestershire, and it is not improbable that he was educated in England.

In the seething political and religious times of the Commonwealth and later he imbibed the strong republicanism with which his name and talents were afterwards so conspicuously associated. Then he joined the Society of Friends, as many of the Commonwealth sympathizers did, and abjured fighting with material weapons forever. His pugnacity was, however, transferred to another field, and when in 1686 Penn commissioned him as Attorney-General of his new province he little knew what a determined opponent he was sending over the seas. On "the 5th of 6th Mo. 1686" he presented his commission to the Council, subscribed to the necessary declarations of fidelity to the King and Governor and entered upon the duties of his office. From this time until his death, in 1731, he was a potent factor, possibly as potent as any, considering permanent results, in the public affairs of the province.¹

Two months later Patrick Robinson, who appears to have been a testy and obstinate official, was discharged from his position as Clerk of the Provincial Court, and David Lloyd was

¹ Macaulay in his History makes one David Lloyd an emissary in attempting the restoration of James II in 1690-91. The name was included with that of William Penn and a number of noblemen and gentlemen in a list of supposed conspirators against William and Mary. It is possible that *our* David Lloyd went over from Pennsylvania for this purpose, though it seems improbable. Deborah Logan, however, speaks of him as the same person. She also says that he was Captain in the "Republican Army," presumably that of Cromwell. As he was only two years old when Cromwell died, she was undoubtedly mistaken.

appointed to the place. He was also made clerk or deputy to the Master of the Rolls, Thomas Lloyd.

As Attorney-General there is only one important case with which David Lloyd was associated that has come down to us—the case in which William Bradford, the only printer of Philadelphia, was charged with issuing a seditious libel in connection with the George Keith controversy. Lloyd represented the prosecution, and won. Bradford was fined, but in the easy-going times the fine was never collected. It is important in being the first case where the seditious character of the publication, as well as the fact of printing was submitted to the jury, and was thus important in establishing the freedom of the press.²

In the snarl that followed the appointment of Blackwell as Deputy-Governor, he showed the militant disposition which made his life a continual turmoil.

The question came up in a meeting of the Council of a criminal whose case had been adjudged by the court of the county of Sussex, and the judgment reversed by the Provincial Court. The copies of the records of the higher court being conflicting, David Lloyd was asked to produce the original. He refused, saying that the Council had no authority to give such an order. Then, the minutes state, "he was thereupon ordered to withdraw. This was judged a high contempt in the said David Lloyd, and for that and other unseemingly and slighting expressions of his to the Governor and Council," he was discharged from his various positions. Thomas Lloyd then came to his rescue by issuing a commission to him re-appointing him. This Blackwell conceded he had a right to do as his deputy, but not as clerk of the court. Blackwell was probably right, and the Lloyds had to recede from their position. David Lloyd finally gave up the papers in question, and ultimately recovered his standing.

In 1693 he was again brought unfavorably before the Council. One Charles Butler was charged with passing counterfeit coin. The jury found him guilty, and he claimed that David Lloyd added to their verdict that it was misprision of treason,

² See Pennypacker's Colonial Cases.

which would cause a forfeiture of all the prisoner's property. In reply Lloyd claimed that his act was only a legal form. The Council concluded that it was not a proper case for it to decide, but gave an opinion that it did not look right to them to give so severe a penalty for so slight an offense and that there was "a matter of law in it against David Lloyd."

Another instance of a legal character may be cited to illustrate his facility in making enemies by the method of his proceedings. Francis Daniel Pastorius was the agent of the Frankford Company which owned a large amount of land in and around Germantown. He was dismissed from his position without proper compensation for past services. An adventurer now appeared, one Henry Sprogel, whom Pastorius calls "a cunning and fraudulent fellow," who had come over with the claim that he had bought in Germany the rights of several of the owners, and was proceeding to eject the innocent settlers by court decree. In company with a colleague, he retained David Lloyd, and gave to him as a fee 1,000 acres of land to which the title was doubtful. Acting on Lloyd's advice, he also bought up the whole bar of the province, consisting of three other lawyers, and sprung the case upon the court, which decided in his favor without a full hearing of the other side.

The above is Pastorius's account, and in concluding it he gives this verdict:—

"If David Lloyd does justify this barbarous manner of proceeding and spoiling of widows and orphans, it's more than any can do that professes truth, and unless he really repent and endeavors to have restitution made to those who so deeply suffer, he certainly will be accountable for it at the great day of judgment."³

In other letters Pastorius is even more severe, referring to him as d-ll. Finally he made his complaint to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, where David Lloyd was a member. At the same time a request came from Lloyd to transfer his certificate to Chester Monthly Meeting. The double question was considered

³ See M. D. Learned's Pastorius, p. 154.

from month to month for six months with additions to the membership of the committee. Finally, on 9 month 27th 1713 the meeting minuted "However, it seems to the meeting to be that which is not of good report and therefore desires David Lloyd that he may forbear to have anything further to do towards strengthening the parties concerned therein." With this Scotch verdict the matter was left.

In forming a judgment of David Lloyd from these questions of legal ethics it is fair to bear in mind that he has placed on record no defences of his action. He used the means which as a lawyer were at his command, and which many good lawyers at the present day sanction and adopt. The accounts of the transactions all come from his political and factional opponents. His skill and ability are abundantly manifest by the results, while his methods would doubtless be differently judged were we to hear his own statements. He, apparently, both in meeting his legal and political enemies, had no thought of protecting himself in history. The voluminous writings of Logan and Pastorius bear evidence of the opinion held of him by those whose plans he had opposed. That during all his life time he had an ardent political following, containing many good men, and more often than not defeated the opposition, are facts we know from the public records, but not from his pen.

To the political side of his life we now turn.

It was as a politician rather than as a lawyer that he will ultimately be judged, and here we find most opposite views of his character and influence. With some he is the great champion of democracy and popular rights against the encroachments of the Proprietary and his friends; with others he is simply an artful demagogue, using his great legal training and undoubted abilities to carry out his plans, oftentimes by unscrupulous means, in the midst of a simple and trustful community of country Friends, of whose principles he was, or seemed to be, an ardent exponent. We will try to state the facts fairly before forming a judgment.

After holding various minor offices as clerk of the courts and of the Assembly, and deputy to certain officials, he was in 1693, at the time of the Fletcher régime, when William Penn was

deprived of his government, elected to the Assembly. A year later he was made Speaker. Fletcher was opposed by the whole Quaker body in public life and Lloyd had a united party with him. The Governor was attempting to break down the Penn authority and constitution, and as Friends had refused to sit in his Council, and as this body had the sole power of originating laws, he had at the start things pretty much his own way. But when these laws were presented to the Assembly, without whose sanction they could not be enacted, came Lloyd's chance. Every piece of legislation in conflict with popular rights was held up, and, after the fashion of the English Commons, supplies were denied pending the Governor's surrender. Lloyd was then as always very direct and open in his statements. When on one of the occasions when a committee of the Assembly waited on the Governor to explain their non-passage of the supply bill, and various circumlocutory statements were made, David Lloyd brought the matter to a head by the unmistakable announcement, "To be plain with the Governor here is the Monie Bill, and the House will not pass it until they know what is become of the other bills sent up."

The first contest was over the validity of the charter and laws granted by Penn. Fletcher claimed that they were superseded by his royal commission. After some sparring, the Assembly had to yield. Then an appropriation was asked to defend the frontier of New York against the French, with whom England was at war. This demand struck at the anti-martial principles of Friends, and was successfully resisted, or rather postponed by the Assembly. The plan of delaying supplies till certain laws were granted was now tried in Pennsylvania, and, as in other colonies and in England, was successful in extorting one popular liberty after another.

Fletcher's rule only lasted about two years, when the government was restored to Penn, who made his cousin Markham his Deputy. Markham tried to live up to the arbitrary standard of Fletcher, but now both Council and Assembly opposed him. Lloyd was now in the former body, but remained the champion of democracy. One privilege after another was gained, giving

the Assembly as well as the Council the right to originate laws, and allowing it to sit on its own adjournments. All and more than Penn had granted was secured. This condition lasted till 1699, when Penn, with his secretary, James Logan, came into the country, and David Lloyd's easy supremacy was over.

For he and Logan became bitter enemies. During Penn's stay of two years this did not much show itself, but he and his friends had so indoctrinated the colony with ideas of freedom that Penn, half reluctantly, was forced to give a new charter, that of 1701, which lasted just seventy-five years, till abrogated in the opening days of the Revolutionary War. This abolished the Council as a part of the law-making power, making it only an advisory body to the Deputy Governor, and granted full powers to the Assembly, with the Governor's assent to pass all laws.

Hitherto Lloyd had seemed to be on good terms with Penn, whose commission he had held. But when the Proprietary sailed for England, leaving Logan his secretary and agent, a controversy, both personal and political, which in time became very bitter, arose between the Welshman and the Irishman. Both had a sort of fearless pugnacity which induced plain speaking without any avoidance of direct issues. Though their state papers are couched in terms of studied courtesy, there was no pains to conceal the differences involved between them.

Each had his party behind him. The most of the best educated city Friends, who were also friends of the Proprietary, were gathered in the ranks with the secretary. The country Friends, the great bulk of the population, concerned for their property and personal rights, followed loyally the skilful and forceful leadership of David Lloyd.

A small third party must not be neglected, the Churchmen, whose leader was Robert Quarry, Judge of the Admiralty, appointed by the Crown and independent of the Penn government. This party was troublesome more because it spread in England reports of inefficiency in the province, due, as it claimed, to Quaker scruples as to war and oaths, than as the result of its direct influence upon popular opinion.

David Lloyd was a strong uncompromising champion of

Friends' views on these subjects and one of his favorite charges against the Penn and Logan party was that relief in these matters was not granted, so that Friends could have their full share in government without any sacrifice of principle.

That Logan did not hold the Friendly attitude as to wars and self-defense is unquestionably true, and became more manifest as he grew older. The Friends that surrounded him, however, did,—some of them quite as strenuously as did the countrymen, and perhaps with a better appreciation of all the factors entering into the matter. Hence on occasions they would vote money “for the Queen’s use” on the general plea that the use the Queen made of it, was as Isaac Norris expressed it, “Not our part, but hers.”

Lloyd never compromised. When the Assemblies of which he was the Speaker voted money, they made it a condition that “it should not be dipt in blood,” and appointed trustees to hold it till they found how it was to be applied. He was willing to carry non-resistance to its fullest conclusion, and abruptly closed the question and adjourned the Assembly when it was found that the Deputy was not inclined to accept the grant on such dubious terms. In this particular he was undoubtedly supported by the great body of Friends in the province.

The close identity of Friends with the government is shown by two addresses passed by the House on the same day (May 25th, 1704,) and both signed by David Lloyd, Speaker. One of these was “The Humble Address of the Freemen of Pennsylvania,” congratulating “Our Gracious Queen Anne” on her accession. The other was “The Humble Address of the People called Quakers convened in Assembly,” also addressed to “Our Gracious Queen Anne,” asking relief in the matter of oaths, which was approved by the Assembly. N. C. D. The Assembly, probably all Friends, adopted by the same vote and placed on its minutes the two addresses, in one case as the *Freemen of Pennsylvania* and the other as the *People called Quakers*.

The severity of this controversy lasted from 1701, when Penn left the province, to 1710, when Lloyd was completely, though temporarily, unhorsed. It was a sad decade for Quaker

government. It is a mistake to assume, however, that the difference was as pervasive in the ranks as it was acrid among the leaders. The Province continued to prosper, immigrants came in, houses were built, farms were laid out and woods cleared, and the foundations of many a fortune and many a happy home were laid. A generation of Quaker politicians was being reared who were learning the meaning of self-government and democracy. History dealing only with men who ruled in Council and Assembly records the serious contests over what seem sometimes small matters, but the great body of Friends attended their quiet meetings in simple harmony and satisfaction with their lot. David Lloyd seems to have expected that a separation in meeting might result from the political conditions, but fortunately his prediction was not fulfilled. James Logan speaks of him as "a discordant in the Friends' meetings for business, so much so he expects a separation and purging; the young push for rash measures, the old for Penn's interests."

One of the questions of the day was the right of the Assembly to come together and adjourn at its pleasure. In view of the history of England under the Stuarts, now not so very far in the background, it is not a matter of wonder that they were sensitive on this point. William Penn had granted in his charter of 1701 the right of the popular house, to be, with the assent of the Governor, the whole legislative body of the Province, to be elected on the 1st of October every year without any call from the Governor and to sit on the 14th following. The only question remaining was as to its right to adjourn to some fixed date within the year of its service.

When in 1702 there was difficulty in forming an Assembly owing to the discordant policies of the Province and Territories (Pennsylvania and Delaware) which had hitherto worked together as one Colony, but were now about separating, it was suggested that the Governor might adjourn this meeting to a future day. Immediately David Lloyd sounded the alarm. Though it was only a preliminary conference, and not an Assembly, the account states; "David Lloyd objected to the word *adjourn* for the Charter empowering them to sit on their own

adjournments, they would betray their trust should they admit of any other adjournment." His keen eye for the establishment of a precedent which would in any degree threaten popular rights seized upon this little point for protest.

The Governor did not yield the matter ostensibly, but the Assembly had the habit of adjourning when it pleased, and nothing could be done, so that in time the policy with which we are so well acquainted in the United States became fully established.

In 1709 Governor Gookin sent word to the Assembly, "I expect the House shall not adjourn any longer than from day to day, till the business further recommended to you this morning shall be issued." Here was a direct challenge, and David Lloyd, then Speaker, accepted it. With an unanimous House behind him, he passed resolutions, announcing that they would *not* attend to the business recommended, and *would* adjourn when it suited them, which, as harvest was approaching, they immediately proceeded to do. It is not giving Lloyd too much credit to say that his influence largely secured to the people of Pennsylvania the invaluable right of an independent legislature.

Penn was a full believer in civil liberty, as the advanced men of the times construed it, but he was an enthusiast for religious liberty and equality among the sects. He placed this principle in the forefront of all his constitutions, and when he gave the final one in 1701 he asked that his people should take the opportunity to propose any provisions which would better secure their rights. The most of them had not, as he had, any broad conception of the value of these intangible matters, but they did want good titles to their property, low taxes, good roads, and all the factors which would lead to permanent material prosperity. He was rather disgusted when in response to his liberal offers, the House sent in a reply dealing only with some of these, to him, minor matters.

His financial circumstances were such that he could not give away too many of his perquisites, for the expenses of government which fell upon him were in excess of his total receipts. Hence, some of these matters were left undetermined and afforded

grounds of difference. All might, however, have been happily adjusted had he remained in the country or sent a judicious deputy. But, after the death of Andrew Hamilton, whom he first appointed, he sent over a vigorous, but not very judicious, man in the person of John Evans.

Logan and other of Penn's best friends rallied around him, but Lloyd was in popular control, and for three years (1702-1705) as Speaker of the Assembly, he ruled the Province with a high hand, finding abundant causes to quarrel with the Governor and Council and using them to the best advantage.

The matter culminated in a list of grievances to be sent by the House to William Penn in England. This document had a remarkable history, and was a source of contention for years to come.

In the first place it was not addressed to Penn directly, but to certain English Friends, who were more or less inimical to him. By a strange series of accidents, the boat carrying it was captured by a privateer and taken to France, and the bearer made a prisoner. He disclosed his package to a brother prisoner, who begged it of him, and, being a friend of Penn, forwarded it to the man from whom Lloyd meant to keep it till it had done its work secretly among the enemies of the Proprietary.

Equally irregular was the method of its passage through the House. It was brought up just at the close of a session of the Assembly in August, 1704, when it was too late to write it out in full and have it formally passed upon. The heads were drawn up and a committee was authorized to phrase them properly and forward the product—at least so the minutes say; but Logan tells us, and his word is supported by Isaac Norris, that the statement was seen by two men only, David Lloyd and Griffith Jones; that the minute giving the matter over to a committee was interpolated after the adjournment, and that it was signed by David Lloyd as Speaker after his term had expired.

The heads agreed upon by the Assembly related to certain charges against Penn relating to the failure to perform his duty as Proprietary according to his own Charter and agreements. He had instructed his Deputy to issue writs for election when the

House had a right to assemble according to its own adjournment. He had obtained money to secure the ratification of laws in England, especially those giving relief to Friends in the matter of oaths, but had not accomplished the purpose. His surveyors of land had been inefficient or worse. He had commissioned the Judges and they were devoted to his own interests as against those of the people.

The remonstrance was accompanied by a letter from David Lloyd which was even more a bitter pill for the Proprietary. It told these unfriendly men "how we have been abused by trusting William Penn," and emphasized the disadvantage to the Province brought upon it by "the revels and disorders of young William Penn and his gang of loose fellows."

It is not a matter of wonder that William Penn who was never expected to see this epistle did not feel pleasantly towards the writer in the succeeding years, and that he was quite willing to believe the damaging stories of him in Logan's letters.

But Lloyd had overreached himself. The Assembly chosen in the fall of 1705 was of a different sort. There was a strong reaction in favor of Penn and Logan. David Lloyd was defeated for election in Philadelphia County, which he had previously represented, but got in from the city. He lost the Speakership, and the Assembly, dropping the quarrels of the past, devoted its time to useful legislation.

Now was the time when a good Governor could have kept the temper of the people sweet and at the same time resisted unjust claims against the Proprietary. But they had anything but a good Governor. By a series of inexplicable follies, he threw away all his advantages. He prosecuted an old member of the Assembly, William Biles, for saying outside the House, "The Governor is but a boy; we'll kick him out." He attempted to discredit Friends' testimony against war by raising a false report of the approach of a French fleet and calling on every one to arm, hoping that the Friends would thus compromise themselves. Instead of which they went to meeting. He built a fort at New Castle, and attempted to extort "powder money" illegally from owners of ships who were mostly of his own party.

In addition, he was irregular in his own life, joined with young Penn in his revels, and bore no good name in a community of strict Quakers. His own friends had to apologize for him, and Logan finally advised the recall, but as a result again Lloyd was triumphant. In 1706 and the three following years he was elected Speaker, resisted Evans and Logan with acrimony and success, and carried the Province with him.

(To be concluded.)

EXTRACTS FROM OLD MEETING RECORDS.

[The editor is indebted to a friend for the following extracts from old meeting records. They were made by a Friend in 1844, and, though in modernized spelling, are doubtless accurate.]

WESTBURY QUARTERLY MEETING [NEW YORK.]

At a half-year's meeting on Matinicook on Long Island the 14th day of 6 mo 1684.

The necessity of John Adams being laid before this Meeting for their consideration, advice and assistance, for some speedy supply for part payment for a negro man that he hath lately bought. The meeting did appoint and desire John Bowne of Flushing, and William Richardson of Westchester to the care in behalf of the meeting, to procure a sum of money of some person on as cheap terms as they can, for the supply as aforesaid, and the meeting doth promise and engage to reimburse and pay the said sum so procured.¹

¹ It was just about the time of the above minute that William Burling began to raise his voice in New York Yearly Meeting against slavery, but it was not until about the middle of the eighteenth century that a query "Whether Friends are clear of importing or purchasing negroes or slaves" was adopted."—EDITOR.

MARRIAGE OF THOMAS LLOYD AND PATIENCE STORY.

At a Quarterly Meeting 27 of 10 mo 1684.

Thomas Lloyd² and Patience Story appeared the second time and declared their intentions of marriage (having proposed it before in a monthly meeting in New York) and Friends of Philadelphia having by a certificate declared his clearness, and their unity with him in his proceeding, all things being thus clear, Friends left them to their own time for the consummation of their intended marriage.

PHILADELPHIA 2nd of 10 mo.

From Our Quarterly Meeting.

Dear Friends, brethren and sisters, In the dear love [of the gospel] we salute you, and acquaint you, that our dear and well beloved friend in the holy faith of Jesus Christ, Thomas Lloyd, this day [at] our Quarterly Meeting the second time laid his intentions of marriage with Patience Story of New York, before us, and we had near and dear unity with him, and his lovely deportment and tenderness did greatly affect us; and we have unity with his said intentions, for some of us knows the aforesaid Patience, and have good unity with her in her place and service to God and his people, and we are fully satisfied of his clearness from all others as to entanglements or engagement in relation to marriage, and the Lord bless them and make them a blessing to many in their generation, and he hath in his place here lived honorably and done worthily, and he may proceed in the order of truth, for the accomplishment of the aforesaid intentions, and so in God's fear we wish them well, and salute you all dearly there away, and rest your friends in the truth.

To the meeting of Friends in New York, whether monthly or quarterly.

[Signed by eighteen men and seven women.]

² "Thomas Lloyd, of Dolobran, third son of Charles, was born 17 February, 1640, and died in Pennsylvania 10 September, 1694. He married first 9 September, 1665, Mary, daughter of Roger Jones, of Welshpool, Montgomeryshire, Wales, and secondly, Patience Gardiner, widow unto Robert Story: and by his first wife, who died in 1680, he had ten children."—Glenn, "Merion in the Welsh Tract," pages 341, 342.

SELLING OF DRINK; MARRIAGE OUT OF MEETING.

The 7th of the 2nd month 1687.

At a monthly meeting at John Bowne's in Flushing it was thought meet and agreed upon by Friends to appoint John Way, and Daniel Patrick to go to Wm. Noble to speak to him concerning selling of drink and to bring in to the next Quarterly or Monthly meeting what he saith.

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Hester Townsend formerly Hester Smith, her answer confirming her disorderly³ marriage being brought to this meeting by Mary Willits, in which the said Hester doth justify such marriage to Friends' grief, notwithstanding friends with bowels of compassion and great tenderness to such as are weak, did wait with hope that God would grant her repentance on that—Mary Cooper is desired, with Martha Titus, to speak with Hester Townsend that was Hester Smith, and endeavor to bring her to a sense of her condition.

12 mo 9, 1693

At a Quarterly Meeting Martha Titus having spoken with Hester Townsend could not receive any satisfactory answer, therefore friends have desired Edmund Titus and Nathaniel Bowne to go again to Hester Townsend and endeavor to bring her to a sense of her condition and return her answer to the next Quarterly Meeting.

26 of 3 mo 1694.

The matter concerning H. T.'s disorderly marriage and charging it upon the Lord, being this day farther spoken to, friends have delayed farther proceedings in the matter, upon the request of Daniel Kirkpatrick, saying he had it in his mind in tenderness to visit her once more.

³ "Disorderly" has the technical meaning of "not in accordance with the established order of Friends;" not the common meaning of lawless or unruly.—EDITOR.

25 of 6 mo 1694.

The matter concerning H. T.'s disorderly marriage being spoken to, friends have drawn up a paper in order to condemn the same, which said paper is committed to Mary Willits, Mary Cooper, and Martha Titus to shew it to said Hester, in order that she may sign the same, and [be] restored into [unity] with friends, and to bring her said answer and the paper to the next Quarterly Meeting.

22 of 12 mo 1694

Friends who are fully satisfied by the spirit of truth which is of God, hath signed a testimony against Hester Townsend's disorderly spirit and practice in relation to her disorderly marriage.⁴

EXTRACTS FROM RHODE ISLAND MINUTES.

The "visitors" mentioned in the following Minute were equivalent to our "representatives." The word "representatives" was substituted for "visitors" about 1754. It was customary for the clerk to call on the visitors from the subordinate meetings to give a little narrative of the condition of things amongst them. These narratives were sometimes very quaint and amusing.

10 mo 1715.

The visitors from Newport desired to know the mind of the meeting whether it is agreeable to truth for Friends to brand or burn their servants or slaves on the cheek with a letter, the which this meeting are unanimous of the mind that no Friend ought to do it, but cautioned to forbear doing it in future.

The first person who appeared on the records of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting as being under dealings for importing slaves was Peleg Thurston in 6 mo 1750, but the next monthly meeting he made full satisfaction, and his acknowledgement was accepted.

⁴No doubt the paper, as usual at that time and later, required the said Hester Townsend to condemn her marriage, which she refused to do. That the meeting acted with deliberation is shown by the fact that the case was before it for over a year.

In 1750 Friends built a steeple⁵ to the meeting house in Newport. The following minute refers to it:

3 mo 4 1750.

Thomas Cornell and Jacob Mott, the visitors of Newport acquainted this meeting that some friends were not satisfied with the lanthorn in the new meeting house. Friends having much debate in love and condescension one to another, have left the matter.

The steeple was after many years taken off of the meeting house, and used as a shoemaker's shop.

At a monthly meeting held at Falmouth the 2nd day of the 11 mo 1673.

Friends having met together in the fear of the Lord, found all things well, and in order, and so departed in love, giving God the glory, who is blessed forever.

9 mo 2 1688.

It is ordered that the Friends appointed in every particular meeting shall give notice publicly in the meetings that *cross pockets* before, in men's coats, wide sloped, broad hems on cravats, and *over-full skirted coats* are not allowed by Friends.

18 of 5 mo 1693, Minute 7.

Upon a query offered to the quarterly meeting, concerning friends making, ordering, or selling striped cloths, silks and stuffs, or any sort of flowered or figured things of different colours; it is the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting that Friends ought to stand clear of such things.

17 of 5 mo. 10 Minute.

Ordered that friends in their particular meetings make in-

⁵ This was probably a cupola with a pointed roof, known at that time as a "lantern" or "lanthorn," rather than a steeple in the ordinary sense of the word. There was one on the meeting-house at Burlington, N. J.—EDITOR.

quity if there be any that are in the use of periwigs extravagantly or unnecessarily large.⁶

Rhode Island Meeting 1712.

John Hedley and David Greene are appointed by this meeting to take care and provide as much beer or cider and bread and cheese, as may be useful for friends' refreshment in the time of the Yearly Meeting, and to provide a suitable room for that use, with a suitable person to attend the service, and bring their account to next meeting.

A BUNDLE OF OLD BILLS AND WHAT THEY TELL.

There lies before the writer a bundle of receipted bills, etc., which belonged to John Reynell, Treasurer of the "Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania and New Jersey" in the eighteenth century. They range from 1755 to 1783, thus covering the whole of the Revolutionary War. These particular accounts relate almost wholly to the printing ordered and executed under the direction of the Meeting for Sufferings, and they incidentally show how active the Friends of that day were in circulating literature relating to the Society. The first reads:

Yearly Meeting of Friends held at Philadelphia

To Joseph Crukshank Dr.

9^{mo} 7, 1769

To printing 2000 Epistles from the Meeting for

Sufferings £4.0.0

At a Meeting for Sufferings 10 mo. 19-1769 John Reynell is desired to pay the above Acct. & charge it to the Yearly meeting stock.

Jam^s Pemberton Clk.

this time.

⁶ This movement probably reached its height about the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1722, the Minutes of Sandwich Meeting record that "Friends should not wear periwigs," and in 1761 gravestones were ordered removed.—EDITOR.

Joseph Crukshank's name appears on most of the Friends' books and publications from 1764 to 1824. He was a Friend, and his work was excellent.

The special object of the Epistle does not appear in the bill, and the paper is not noted in Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books. The records of the meeting would, of course, tell.

Number 2 is a small piece of paper, and the writing is beautifully clear, it is as follows:

1770 Money remaining due to Isaac Collins for a num-
11^{mo} 12th ber of Sewell's History as ffollows

Ballance Due from New Garden,	£17.5.
& from Bush River	.15
	<hr/>
	£18, " "

Isaac Collins, the ancestor of numerous Collinses of the present day, was one of the best printers of his day. He lived many years in Burlington, New Jersey, and his folio edition of Sewel's *History of the Quakers* is a delight to the eye. He had an office in Philadelphia 1769-1770. He established the first newspaper in New Jersey—the *New Jersey Gazette*—December 5, 1777, and it was continued until November 27, 1786. In his prospectus he promised to "reject any Proposition to make his Paper a Vehicle for the dark Purposes of private Malice by propogating Calumnies against Individuals, wounding the Peace of Families and inflaming the Minds of Men with Bitterness and Rancour against one another." Isaac Collins was a supporter of American Independence.

Bill number 3 is interesting, and much could be said about the printer, his work, and the special edition of the book he printed.

The Yearly Meeting of Friends Pennsylvania and
New Jersey to Christ^r Sower Dr.

To printing Barclay's Apologie, according to agreement,
viz: One Thousand Books £268.17. 6

Extraordinary Expences, for the uncommon
Price of Paper 17.11.10

£286. 9. 4

Germantown 9^{mo} 19th Dy 1776

The Friends	Credit	
For three Sheets I had calculated too many		£14.11.10
The printers Mite towards the Work		3. 0. 0

	£17.11.10
Ballance due to the printer	268.17. 6

£286. 9. 4

Errors excepted Christ^r Sower Jun^r.

N. B. The Printer charges nothing for comparing the several Amendments, Sizing the Paper after printed & other Extraordinary Troubles other Printers know nothing of.

Another account appears to refer to the same edition, though dated nearly four years later. It is number 4, and reads:

4. March ye 19th, 1777

I delivered to Christopher Sower Junior 61 Apologies, and 4 to Anthony Benezat and now I deliver 74 in all 139 at 3/6 pr. piece which amounts 24. 6. 6

The 8th April 1780 John Weaver.

Deduct from the above amount 6^d pr book 3. 9. 6

£20.17. 0

Please to pay John Weaver Twenty Pounds seventeen shillings what appears due on the above acct.

To John Reynell.

10 mo 17, 1780

John Pemberton
Anthony Benezet

Apparently John Weaver, from some cause, had to wait more than three years for his money.

This edition of Barclay's *Apology* is a very close reprint of the London German edition of 1740. Sower's edition surpasses the London book in typography.

It is said that most of the edition was seized and used for cartridges or wadding in guns and cannon during the Revolution. At any rate copies of the edition are by no means often met with.

The fact that the edition was issued at all indicates that there was a relatively large German population in the State.

The names signed to the order are in the autographs of the signers, that of Anthony Benezet being in his clear, characteristic handwriting.

No. 5

Yearly Meeting of Pensylv^a }
and New Jersey }

To John Blake Dr.

1776

10 mo 21. To transcribing 10 Copies of the Extracts
from the minutes of said meeting @ 7/6 ea. £3.15.—

This document is beautifully written in handwriting evidently that of a professional. For many years Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting were copied and sent down to the subordinate meetings to be read. It was not until about 1840 that the Extracts were printed. Many of the manuscript copies are still in existence.

No. 6.

Mr. Peter Miller	
To Henry Miller	Dr
To 2000 Copies of a Testimony given forth by the Friends at their yearly Meeting the 29 th Day of the Ninth Month, 1777	£4.0.0
Philad ^a Oct ^r 8: 1777	
Rec'd the full Contents for Henry Miller per me Elizabeth Lehman	

Why this printing was not done by Crukshank does not appear,¹ though it was doubtless due to the British being in possession of Philadelphia. The full title of the document is "A Testimony from the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia against groundless insinuations respecting Friends and some malicious Papers which had been circulated." This doubtless refers to the charges made against Friends and the seizure and arbitrary banishment of seventeen Friends to Winchester, Virginia, for alleged aid to the Royalist cause.²

No. 7.	Anthony Benezet	Debtor
1777		
9 th mo. 10 th .	To George Reinholdt to half binding	
48 Books by W ^m Penn	@ 1/8pce	£2. 8.
35 do	@ 1/3	2. 3. 9
		<hr/>
To cost bound by another hand		£4.11. 9
27 do	@ 1/pce	1. 7.
		<hr/>
110		£5.18. 9

¹Peter Miller was one of Philadelphia's printers, and Henry Miller, probably the Henry Miller of the bill, was a printer of Lancaster as well as of Philadelphia. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the printing was executed at Lancaster.

²See Sharpless.—R. M. Jones' "Quakers in the American Colonies, p. 566.

The binder evidently did not know to whom the work should be charged, for the name is inserted in Anthony Benezet's own autograph.

The "books by W^m Penn" were doubtless some in sheets.

The following bill should be read in connection with No. 6. It relates to the defense of the Friends banished to Winchester:³

No. 8. At a Monthly Meeting for Sufferings held the
16th 4 Mo 1778

The Treasurer when in Cash is desired to pay unto Christopher Sower junr and Peter Sower the Sum of forty four Pounds Sixteen Shillings & three Pence for translating printing and binding 2000 Pamphlets in German, wrote by our Friends lately banished from this City

Extracted from the Minutes

by Nicholas Waln Clerk

£44. 16. 3.

The last account to be presented is for a very different kind of service, and shows clearly how habits and customs have changed in the century and a half that has elapsed.

Meeting House			To Sarah Cramer			Dr.
1755						
4 mo	1	To 1 Gallon Rum			4.4	
	2	To 1 do			4.4	
	3	To 1 do 4/4—4 th to 2	do 4/4	13.		
17	To 1/2	do 19 th to 1	do 4/4	6.6		
25	To 2 1/2	do 4/4 29 th to 2 1/2	do 4/4	1. 1.8	2.10.10	
<hr/>						
5 mo	3	To 3 do 4/4 7 th to 3	do 3/8	1. 4.		
	14	To 3 do 3/8 15 th to 3	beer 1/	14.		
	16	To 2 do beer 20 th to 3	do Rum 3/8	13.		
	30	To 3 do Rum 3/8		11.		

³ See the *Bulletin*, third month, 1908, vol. ii, pages 25-27, for two letters from these exiles.

6 mo	7	To 3	do 3/8	21 st to 5½	do 3/8	1.11.2		
	23	To 3	do 3/8	& 1 doz	bread	14.0	5.	7. 2
							<hr/>	
7 mo	11	To 1	do 3/8	& 1 doz	do	6.8		
	16	To 1	do 3/8	30 th to 1	Gal Rum	7.4		
8 mo	25	To 1	do 3/8			3.8		
9 mo	3	To 1	do 3/8	5 th to 1	do 3/8	7.4		
	9	To 2	do 3/8	16 th to 1	do 3/8	11.		
	19	To 1	do 3/8	20 th to 1	do 3/8	7.4	2.	3. 4
							<hr/>	
							£10. 0. 4	

Examined & found ct. pr. Jacob Shoemaker, jun.
Jos. Marriott.

There is scarcely a doubt that the rum, etc., mentioned in the above bill was used, either during the pulling down of the "Great Meeting House" on the corner of Second and High (Market) Streets or during the erection of the "Greater Meeting House" on the same site, 1755. The last-named building was pulled down in 1812, and part of the material was used in constructing Twelfth Street Meeting House, whose centennial was celebrated in 1912.

LETTER OF REBECCA JONES, 1772.

[The following letter is from the Howland Collection of Papers, Haverford College. The mention of the movements of American Friends in England is interesting, particularly the statement that "John Woolman was going Northward." This was his journey to York, where he died Tenth month 7, 1772.]

The writer, Rebecca Jones, was one of the best-known Philadelphia Friends of her day.¹ (See Notes and Queries in the present number of the BULLETIN (p. 72) for notes on this letter.)

¹Memorials of Rebecca Jones, compiled by William J. Allinson. Second edition with Appendix, Philadelphia, 1849. Rebecca Jones was born 1739 and died 1818.

Philadelphia 9th mo 21st 1772.

Beloved friend }
 Elizth Smith }

The Occasion of my writing at present, is to cover the enclosed, which we this Day received, and to give thee what Intelligency I can of our American Frd^s. on the English shore. Debby Morris has wrote a few lines to my Partner & self, just to inform of her own and Aunt's Welfare, and to excuse herself from writing to her Frd^s. here, her Time being so much taken up with her Worthy Aunt, who seems devoted to her grt. Master's Work—dated 7th mo. 9th.

Sammy Emlen writes to his Wife, also to Marg^t. Haines, informing that He with William Hunt & Companion were near going to Holland. S. M. & Debby were at Norwich at Jos. Oxley's, Jn^o. Woolman was going Northward, and Robt. Willis was gone to Ireland. Also that Cath^{ne} Payton was to change her name to Philips the 16th of 7 mo last.

I think of thee often, and that with increasing Affection & Sympathy; yet am Comforted on thy Acct. in full Persuasion that he who hath mercifully been thy "Morning Light" will sustain in & thro' all, and in the "Evening" be thy joyful "Song."

Farewell my Dear fr^d. My Companion joins me in Love to thee.

I am thy Affectionate fr^d.

REBECCA JONES.

CARTING QUAKERS TO PRISON.

[The following account is taken from "Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, Fourth Series, 1913," pp. 332, 333. See Book Notices in this number.]

[Address] These ffor Joseph Williamson Esqur at ye Lord Arlingtons Whitehall.

[Endorsed] Yarmouth R. 7 Aug. 1671 Mr Bower.

Sr

Sunday last there was a Quakers meeting at Paikefeid in Suffolke about seauen miles from this Towne, wch the Cheife

Constable being informed of, takeing Some assistance wth him went to disperse, So many as he Knew he tooke their names, the rest being in number 11 refused to give him there names vpon wch he Sett a guard upon them & went to Sr Thomas Meddowes for a warrant to bring them before him, at his returne he Shewed them his warrant & required them to goe wth him, they told him no, for the warrant required him to bring them before the Justice & therefore they would not goe vpon wch the Constable gott a Cart, but they not being free to goe in of themselues the Constable with his assistance was forst to put them in, the first that were put in were so cross that they would lye at their length So yt they could not Stow halfe of them where vpon the Carter laid them one vpon an othr, but this not being for their ease they then Sett vp, being brought to ye doore where the Justice was, they could not pswade them to come out of ye Cart, vpon wch the Carter cast of the belly band of the ffiller,¹ lifted up the tibbs² of ye Cart & so threw them out altogether at ye Carts arse,³ wch So cooled their Courage yt coming before Sr Thomas they all gaue in their names & were dismist for ye psent⁴ not else but yt I am

Sr yo'r humble Serut

RICH. BOWER.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM JAMES BRING-
HURST, OF PHILADELPHIA, TO ELIZth
COGGESHALL, IN LONDON.

In the first number of this BULLETIN there is some consideration of the question whether John Dickinson, of Revolutionary fame, was a member of the Society of Friends. It is pretty evident that through his later life he was not a member, though diligently an attender of meetings, and a founder of Westtown

¹ *Ffiller*, or *filler*, the horse between the shafts.

² *Tibbs*, the extreme end of the cart.

³ *Arses*, the rear of the cart.

⁴ Another instance of Friends being carted to jail is given in Cambridge Journal [George Fox's Journal, Cambridge edition, 1911] vol. ii, 14. [See Notes and Queries in this number of the BULLETIN].

School. His education and early life were not Friendly. He married Mary Norris (who was a Friend), but not by Friendly order. He was a soldier through the war. If his wife was disowned, she got back into membership. His children were Friends. Possibly one of his parents was not a member and thus he had no birthright, but there seem to be no records to prove this.

The following interesting letter which is among the records of Devonshire House, London, was this summer transcribed, and gives more light upon his later life in this respect than anything else published, so far as I know.

I. S.

“A great change has taken place in John Dickinson altho not yet in Membership with F^{rds}, it plainly shews what the powerful operation of Divine Grace has done for him, who was once in almost the highest applause & popularity of Mankind as to worldly things, having been a great Lawyer, a Politician, a Governor of Pensilvania, & any station he seemed to chuse—having been the Author of what’s called the *Farmer’s letters* some years past, & now I believe him to be the improving Christian, he has so far taken up the cross as to use the plain language to all, & is a diligent attender of our religious meetings, I had been intimately acquainted with him & therefore took the liberty to lay before him in a letter I wrote a few weeks past, the use & benefit his influence might probably have if he could feel it right to exert it with G. Washington, & some others in high stations on behalf of the poor Black people detained in Bondage.—of his own Negroes he set a number free, in which I was informed he gave up to the amount of between eight & ten thousand pounds, respecting that & some other matters he gave me some account last spring about a week before I left home to come here.—I went to Willmington to see a Son of mine, who is settled there, when J. Dickinson was very pressing with me to spend some time with him at his house, which is large & comodious & pleasantly situated in that Town, where he lives as a private Gentleman, he possesses vast property & therefore it is in his power to do much good with it wherein I believe he is good to the poor, I staid longer than I had intended on purpose from his solicitation & spent part of two days with him, when he was very free & open in conversation, one

part of which I may have room to mention—in speaking of the difference between his former & present manner of Life, he told me his daughter had been his instructor he has two children who are daughters lately grown up, no Son, he said, when he lived in Philadelphia, he wished his eldest then to learn dancing & proposed it to her, offering to have a master come to teach her,—at which she made some hesitation, he then desired her to go into her chamber & set an hour or two alone to consider of it & then give him an answer. She went as he bid her & when she returned to him again, her answer was, ‘if Father pleases I had much rather be a Friend’ which altho’ somewhat mortifying to him at that time he gave up to, that with some other parts of her conduct put him upon closer thinking of the cause. She is a fine young woman of superior understanding, just growing up into the prime of life with every opportunity of indulgence that’s apt to be pleasing to young minds, thus to deny herself of those things, it so powerfully struck his mind as gradually with other feelings he experienced to effect a change in him who was in great exaltation as to worldly Eminence.—I thought this short acc^t might be agreeable to you both to see, far short it is, to what I could have wrote respecting the conversation we had, but I thought this enough to insert in this letter, I wish this part of it not to be much seen by others, as I should not like any of it as wrote by me, should come to his knowledge—that respecting his negroes he told me if some who held such knew of, perhaps it might be an encouragement to them to set theirs free, tho’ I dont wish that to be mention’d neither from me,—he said he became uneasy in his mind about his, & therefore thought to accommodate the matter to himself & them also, & therefore order’d a number of huts to be built for their better living on the Plantations, & several other ways endeavor’d to render a state of slavery easy to them, but after all this he found his mind disturbed on their acc^t, & at last determin’d to set them at liberty, & wrote a manumission for the whole of them, immediately after which he told me he had a peaceful easy mind, & everything seemed to prosper in his hands, & to crown all, his Income was abundantly increased contrary to his expectation.”

Dated Tiverton Rhode Iland 8th of 10th mo 1799.

JOHN WOOLMAN'S JOURNAL.

It will doubtless be of much interest to readers of the *BULLETIN* to learn that three manuscripts of the famous *Journal* of John Woolman are now accessible to the student of that remarkable man. Some surprise has been expressed at the existence of so many originals all holograph, but investigation shows that they are all genuine, and a testimony to the careful and conscientious spirit of the author.

The two earliest are at Swarthmore College, where they have been deposited by Mrs. George Dudley, a direct descendant of Woolman. *MS. No. 1* is a small unbound quarto of forty pages, consisting of the rough draft to the year 1747. *No. 2* is a thicker *MS.*, on the same size sheet, into which the first has been copied. It is carried down to the year 1770. The same college library also has the little paper-covered pocket blank-book in which is recorded the five-weeks ocean voyage in 1772, as well as several valuable letters from John Woolman to members of his family and others.

To the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has been given the leather-bound folio *MS. No. 3*, made by Woolman as a fair copy containing his marginal directions for the printer. It has come down through Major Samuel Comfort of New York, grandson in the fifth generation from John Woolman through his daughter Mary, who married John Comfort. This *MS.* was the one used by the Publication Committee for the first edition of 1774, and bears evidence of the severity of the editing in the handwriting of Samuel Comfort, the author's grandson, who was one of that committee. Two of Woolman's private account books, his marriage certificate and that of his daughter, the text of portions of his essays, and letters to his family accompany this folio.

Many editions of Woolman's *Journal* have been published, several of them very recently, but not since 1837 has there been any attempt to collate the printed copy with the original. This was last done by John Comly in the edition printed in the above year, and even he followed the daring omissions and questionable

corrections of the original editors, who omitted two dreams, a half page on inoculation, the only case where Woolman was visited by the sheriff, and many minor paragraphs. One edition omits an entire chapter! The most regrettable change is in the smoothing down of the singularly vigorous and simple Saxon phraseology of Woolman into commonplace, and this liberty has been taken throughout the volume. Woolman has indicated with perfect clearness what are his wishes as to omissions. The fact, for instance, that his childhood's dream at the age of nine years has been copied by himself in all three volumes certainly indicates his intention of printing it.

The Friends' Historical Society proposes to publish a final edition of the *Journal*, which will be faithful to the original, accompanied by biographical notes of each person named in the text. Letters and manuscripts of Woolman are very rare, and any one who owns or knows of the existence of such will perform a real service to the Society in its effort to set forth the work with accuracy, by communicating with

AMELIA M. GUMMERE,
Haverford, Penna.

BOOKS, ETC., RECENTLY ISSUED, AND OF INTEREST
TO FRIENDS.

The Quakers in Great Britain and America. The Religious and Political History of the Society of Friends from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century. Two volumes in one. By Charles Frederick Holder, LL.D. Author of *The Pioneer Quakers*, *The Life of Agassiz*, etc. The Neuner Company, New York, Los Angeles, London, 1913. 8vo. 669 pp. \$6.00 net.

The author of this portly volume states in his Preface that he has attempted to supply the need for "a popularly-written, well-illustrated, condensed history of Quakerism as a whole, from the birth of George Fox to approximately 1913, in one volume." It is scarcely possible to call a volume of 669 pages "a condensed history," but that misnomer could be overlooked, had not the volume serious faults. It is diffuse, has little continuity, and the narrative is interrupted by many digressions, especially relating to personal or family matters. Indeed, one is led to think that to give honor to the author's ancestors is one of the chief objects of the work.¹

With the best intentions possible, the author has failed to produce either a clear or accurate picture of the character or the history of Quakerism. In the chapter on "Mary Dyer and Her Friends," he gives an account of the separation of 1827, of the Gurney difficulties, and the establishment of New England Yearly Meeting. This is simply one example of the lack of continuity. The book abounds in errors. He says, "The emphasis placed upon worldly matters and attire by George Fox resulted gradually in the assuming of what was practically a uniform as pronounced as that of his Lordship the Bishop of London to-day" (p. 242). He states that Sir Theodore Fry, Sir Edward Fry, and the M.P. "Mr. Louis [Lewis] Fry" were descendants of Elizabeth Fry (p. 270), whereas their father was but a cousin of her husband. Rufus M. Jones is not the *son* of Eli and Sybil Jones (p. 457), but their nephew; neither has he written the life of George Fox (p. 618). We are sure that much as the Library owes to our friend Norman Penney, he would disclaim the statement that the Library at Devonshire House "has been collected under the diligent and intelligent direction of Norman Penney." It is certainly new to most students of Quaker history that "The American Friends for seven years made every effort to induce London Yearly Meeting to 'silence' Gurney, but without avail" (p. 455). Jeremy Taylor is called "an intense Papist and follower of Laud" (p. 234); a more incorrect statement it would be hard to find. Again, "The Quakers were

¹ The reviewer counted 136 places where Christopher Holder is mentioned by name.

the first we have seen to allow women to speak in meetings" (p. 127). There are also not a few sentences of which it is difficult to catch the meaning, such as: "Elizabeth Fry stands as the embodiment of the best type of the Quaker, a replica of hundreds of women in England and America who lent dignity and charm to the Quaker Society" (p. 247). Or, on the same page, "In these passing years came the Independence of the Colonies, the French Revolution, the establishment of the Women's Friends' Yearly Meeting, the war with France, and the wars against France and Napoleon, 1803-15, the introduction of the great reform bill, in nearly all of which the Quakers had a share or were influenced," etc.

The number of typographical errors or of wrong spelling is great, the reviewer counted page after page with one or more on each page. This is particularly true of proper names, "Macauley" many times, "Eminott" for Emmott (p. 233), "Jordon" for Jordan (p. 240), "Redding" for Reading (p. 270), "Tange" for Tangye (p. 271), "Oberend" for Overend (Ib.), "Rivere" for Riviera (Ib.), "Ditchle" for Ditch (p. 283), "Foothergill" for Fothergill (p. 621), "Scathergood" for Scattergood (Ib.), "Eaton" for Eutaw (p. 622), "John" for Joan (Ib.), "Edmond" for Edmund (Ib.), "1898" for 1908 (p. 632), "Mufflin" for Mifflin (p. 634), "William" for James (Ib.), "Hill" for "Spring" (p. 636), "South" for North (p. 637), "Case" for Chase (p. 640), and many others.

No one would wish to detract from the credit due Mrs. Russell Sage for her many benefactions, but it is difficult to see what place an account of her philanthropies (Chapter XIV) should hold in a history of the Quakers. The author seems to think the fact she is "a fourth great granddaughter of Christopher Holder, a lineal descendant of the Quaker Governor Wanton, of Rhode Island, and of Peleg Slocum, the pioneer Quaker minister" (p. 317) is sufficient. Few, we think, would share his opinion. The chapter is wholly out of place.

The author has also been unfortunate in some of his illustrations. "Louis IV," facing p. 141, should be Louis XIV; "William Penn," facing p. 169, is not "William Penn as a young man," but some one else; the titles to the views facing p. 237 are misleading, and give the impression that Christopher Holder was buried at "Swarthmore"; in the group of portraits facing p. 258 the portraits of Isaac Braithwaite and his son Joseph Bevan are transposed: Isaac Braithwaite should be in the upper row (No. 1); the illustrations facing pages 317, 338, 339 have nothing to do with Quakers.

It has not been pleasant to write thus of the work under review; but when a book making such claims as this contains so much error of various kinds, it seems needful to point out at some length to the unknowing or the unwary reader or student the danger of accepting its statements as authoritative. It is to be regretted that so much time and

so much labor as have evidently been bestowed upon the work should not have resulted in accuracy of statement and presentation.

Social Service, Its Place in the Society of Friends. By Joshua Rowntree. Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 1913. 16mo. 127 pp. One shilling.

This is the sixth "Swarthmore Lecture." The subject is a good one, and the author a veteran in service. The lecture is a long one, and read at leisure well repays perusal. There are many passages of extreme interest, but, as a whole, it is somewhat lacking in continuity. There are so many references to Quaker activities, past and present, that it is to be regretted there is no index.

Margaret Fox of Swarthmoor Hall. By Helen G. Crosfield. London: Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, E.C. [1913]. 8vo. pp. viii, 272. 3 shillings 6 pence. [With four illustrations and a map.]

This handsome volume will, no doubt, receive a warm welcome. No such extended account of Margaret (Fell) Fox has previously appeared, for her life only takes up a part of Maria Webb's excellent *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*. This biography is based on original documents, many of them never before used. The number of letters reprinted is large, and they, with other documents, throw much new light, not only upon the life of Margaret (Fell) Fox and the family at Swarthmoor Hall, but upon the early history of Friends. The book should be widely read by Friends.

Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends. Fourth Series, 1669 to 1672. Edited by Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R. Hist. S., etc. With Introduction by R. A. Roberts, F.R. Hist. S., etc. London, Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, E.C., etc. 1913.

This is the fourth and concluding number of Extracts from the British State Papers, 1654-1672, which relate to Friends. The previous numbers have been noticed as issued. They are of great value as giving "the other side" of the persecutions and trials which were inflicted upon the early Friends. Reproduced in the exact spelling and form of the originals, and carefully annotated when needful, the volume forms "a source-book" of great value to the student of early Quakerism. With this number come the Title Page and Tables of Contents for the whole volume, and an Index of Names for this part, similar to those for Parts I-III. It is to be hoped that another series will be prepared, at least for the succeeding years of the seventeenth century.

Selections from the Diary and Correspondence of Joseph S. Elkinton, 1830-1905. Printed for private distribution. Philadelphia. 1913. 12mo. xvi, 512 pp.

This volume contains the record of the life of one who belonged to a type of Friend that is becoming rare. The influence of Joseph S. Elkinton was in personal rather than public service, and the account reveals a vast amount of unselfish, earnest, untiring labor for the good of others.

The Everyman Encyclopædia. London: J. M. Dent & Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1 shilling in England; 35 cents in United States. 1912-1913. Vols. 1-8.

This new popular encyclopædia, now being issued as part of the well-known Everyman's Library, will doubtless have a very large sale. A number of tests of the eight volumes already published have been generally satisfactory, sometimes unexpectedly so. Not many articles relating to Friends have appeared, but they have generally been reasonably correct. Such are George Fox, Elizabeth Fry, Joseph John Gurney and John Bright. That on the "Friends," while fairly accurate in the main, has a serious error in the reference to the Separation of 1827-1828, where it is said: "The followers of Hicks are far the more numerous" (Vol. VI, p. 299).

Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania. By Charles H. Browning. Philadelphia: William J. Campbell. 1912. 8mo. 631 pp. Illustrated.

There is a great lack of definite, accurate information concerning the Welsh settlers in Pennsylvania, and the publication of this handsome volume raised expectations which have not been realized. The author has not put his material together with skill, he is diffuse, and is lacking in that discernment so necessary to an investigator and an historian. Had his work been confined to the printing of documents and other historical matter and to comments upon them, it would have been far better. To write and comment upon Friends needs special knowledge which few possess. Indeed, it is almost impossible for an "outsider" to avoid making serious slips, not to say errors.

It seems odd to read of "the tenets and teachings of the learned [!] apostle of Quakerism, George Fox" (p. 23), and to have him referred to frequently as "Mr. Fox." It is, however, the treatment of William Penn which, it is hardly too much to say, will vitiate the book in the minds of Friends and injure it in the view of all careful students. The author has apparently believed all the charges made by Macaulay and others, and is quite ignorant of the unanswerable vindications of Penn by Paget, Forster, and others. In addition to erroneous statements, he

uses a jocular tone which ill befits his subject or the claims made for his volume. For instance, he writes: "While Penn may have been sometimes a good Quaker, he certainly 'put on airs,' and was at first a stickler for style and pomp he supposed due his exalted position as a minor monarch" (p. 327). Penn is a "pardon broker" (p. 407). "He allowed himself to be used by the Brethern [sic] of the Society of Jesus to carry out their plans" (Ib.). "He was being suspected, possibly justly, of a leaning, if not conversion to Jesuitism" (p. 408). "He was placed under surveillance, because he persisted in saying James was his dearest friend and the good angel of the Friends" (p. 411). "Penn was the true son of his father, a man of spunk always" (p. 412).

There are many old documents and extracts from old records reprinted which are of much interest, but the lack of accuracy in historical statement inevitably raises some doubt as to accuracy in copying the documents and letters. In the list of "Pictures and Maps" (p. 7), line 11, "Haverford" should be omitted. The plate is taken from Sutcliff's *Travels*, who simply says, as given under the plate here (p. 304), "Friends going to Monthly Meeting." The meeting *may* be Abington; it is certainly not Haverford. There are a good many typographical errors.

The Life of John Bright. By George Macaulay Trevelyan. Illustrated. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company. 1913. 8vo. pp. x, 480. Price, \$4.50.

This volume has been looked for with eagerness on the part of many. G. M. Trevelyan's charm of style, experience in writing, and the sympathetic treatment of George Fox and his followers in his "England under the Stuarts," led to a belief that this would be, as the publishers say, the "definitive biography" of John Bright. In many respects the anticipation has been realized. Accuracy, charm of style, sympathy with his subject are all here, but the personal element, except from the public point of view, is placed as much as possible in the background. This, doubtless, was inevitable from the purpose of the biography which is to present Bright as a statesman, and public character. With this limitation, there is little but praise to be given to the work. The illustrations are admirable.

The book is, of course, primarily for Englishmen, and unless the reader is tolerably familiar with English political life during the years 1840-1890, the full value of the book will not be appreciated, nor will it be as interesting. It is to be regretted that the cost in America is so great as to restrict the circulation in no small degree.

NOTES AND QUERIES

USE OF THE BIBLE AMONG EARLY FRIENDS.—The following passage is taken from Fox's *Journal*, Cambridge Edition, 1911. It is part of an account of how Fox and other Friends were seized (1662) on the charge of holding unlawful meetings. They were put in a cart and carried to Leicesters. See page 59 of this number of the BULLETIN—"As wee went wee past through ye people in ye feilds att there harvest: & in ye towndes: & wee declared ye truth to you with our open bibles in our handes & ye two women they carryd wheeles one there lapps to spinn in prison: Soe we ridd through [ye country to] Leicester in that manner five of us: & declared howe wee were ye prisoners of ye Lord Jesus Christ for his name & his truth sake & ye people was mightily affected." Vol. II, p. 14.

It is interesting to compare this passage with the text of the ordinary editions of the *Journal* and notice how the original was "edited."

DISCONTINUANCE OF THE FRIENDS' YEAR-BOOK.—Many will regret the decision of English Friends to discontinue the issue of the useful *Friends' Year-Book* on account of lack of pecuniary support. It will be greatly missed by some.

THE [PHILADELPHIA] FRIEND.—After being issued for eighty-six years (1828-1913), with scarcely a perceptible change in its appearance, the first number of the eighty-seventh volume (Eighth month 3, 1913) of *The Friend* (Philadelphia) appears with some alterations. The most obvious are two columns to a page instead of three, better and clearer type, more pages, and *advertisements*. In addition to these, various other changes have been made, all of which should make the paper more attractive and useful to its readers.

CENTENNIAL OF OHIO YEARLY MEETING.—The centennial of the establishment of Ohio Yearly was celebrated at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, Ninth month 1, 1913. The Minutes of Baltimore Yearly Meeting setting up the meeting were printed in the BULLETIN for Eleventh month, 1907, Vol. I, pp. 117-119.

OHIO YEARLY MEETING IN 1813.—"The Yearly Meeting was attended by about 2,000 Friends, though I am ready to conclude that the number was rather less; although some Friends suppose there were 3,000."—Extract from a letter of John Heald Ninth month 14, 1813, to Benjamin Kite. *The Friend* (Philadelphia),

Vol. 65: 311, 4th month 20, 1892; reprinted 10th month 23, 1913.

SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF IOWA YEARLY MEETING.—Iowa Yearly Meeting was set up by Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1863, and appropriate exercises in commemoration of the event were held at Oskaloosa, Ninth month 5, 1913. Charles F. Coffin, the only surviving member of the committee appointed by Indiana Yearly Meeting, was present and gave an address. It is stated that there were present some fifty persons who attended the opening of the meeting in 1863.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The number for Tenth month, 1913, is, as usual, full of interesting matter. The longest article is one continued from the previous number of the *Journal*—"Record of Friends Travelling in Ireland 1656-1765." It occupies fifty pages, and is a remarkable record of the activities of the "Publick Friends" (Ministers). From the notes in the record it would seem

that during the period covered by this installment, the ministry was largely of a warning character, and there are not a few prophecies of coming ills and sufferings. A number of Friends are recorded as coming from America, particularly from Pennsylvania.

There is also in this number of *The Journal* an interesting account of "Thomas Bennet, Schoolmaster," of the school at Pickwick, Wiltshire, England (1725?-1764). Other mostly short articles complete a good-sized number.

SWARTHMOOR HALL.—"The long negotiations with reference to Swarthmore Hall are at length concluded, and all necessary deeds and agreements are signed. The Hall may not come into the absolute possession of Friends for many years; but they have access to it now, and a board of trustees will have a voice in any contemplated alterations, and Friends may rest assured that the Hall will be well cared for by its present owner Miss Abraham of Liverpool."—*The Friend* (London), Eleventh month 14, 1913.

NOTES ON LETTER OF REBECCA JONES, PAGE 58.—Elizabeth Smith, to whom the letter was addressed, was one of the Burlington Smiths, and a valued minister. Deborah Morris, the "Debby" of the letter, was the niece and companion of Sarah Morris (died 1775), who visited England with a "Minute" in 1772. "Sammy" Emlen (1730-1799) was the remarkable Samuel Emlen, of Philadelphia, who visited England several times on religious visits. William Hunt was the father of Nathan Hunt, of whom an interesting sketch will be found in the BULLETIN, volume I, page 92 ff. His companion on this visit was his nephew, Thomas Thornburg. They reached England in 1771, and on Ninth month 9, 1772, William Hunt died of small-pox at New Castle, aged 39, just about a month before his cousin, John Woolman, died at York of the same dread disease.

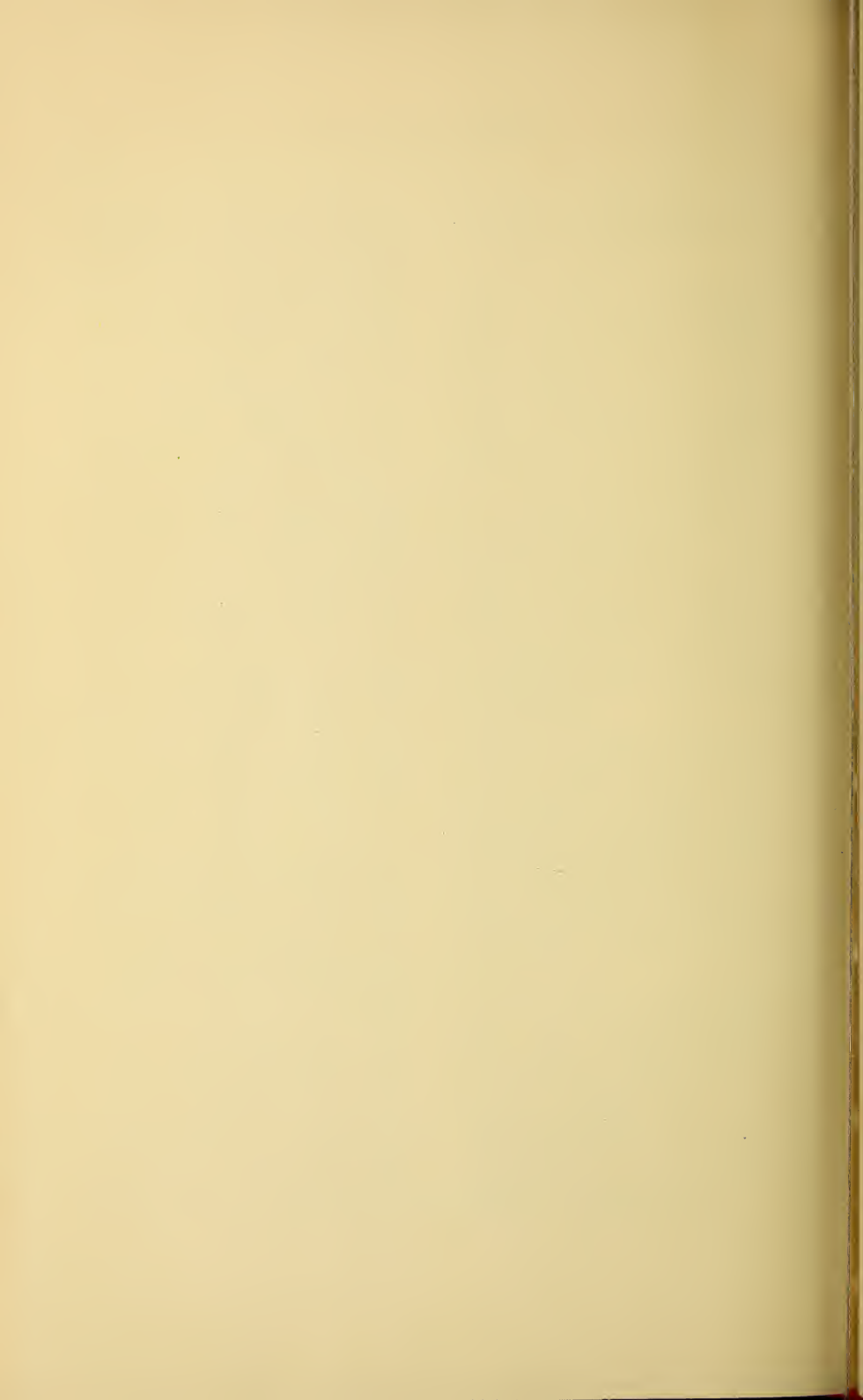
Joseph Oxley (1715-1775), a prominent English Friend, visited America 1770-1771. He was in Philadelphia when Sarah Morris expressed "a concern to pay a religious visit to the churches in England." He was also present (1771) when Samuel Emlen opened "his concern to pay a religious visit to Friends in some parts of Great Britain." "Also another Friend, John Woolman, a wise, sensible man, having a good gift in the ministry and well approved of, has a concern of the like kind, more particularly to

Yorkshire. I suppose the latter will hardly leave the continent till the summer" (1772).

Joseph Oxley accompanied Sarah Morris and Deborah Morris on the voyage to England (Third month 3, 1772). Of Deborah Morris he says: "She (Sarah Morris) had also a kinswoman to accompany her, and though not in the ministry, yet was exercised in spirit for the prosperity of Truth, and having near sympathy with her aunt in her present concern, gave up to attend her in her present undertaking: her name was Deborah Morris, and indeed I thought her an excellent mother raised up in our Israel." ("Journals of Pike and Oxley," London, 1837, pp. 348, 349, 384, 387).

Catherine Payton (1726-1794) was an English minister who visited America, 1753-1756, with Mary Peisley. She married William Phillips in 1772, as is stated in Rebecca Jones's letter. She began to speak in the ministry at the age of twenty-two, and was only twenty-seven when she came to America.

Robert Willis (1713(?) - 1791) was a Friend from New Jersey who visited England 1770-1774. At the London Yearly Meeting of 1772 there were present from America William Hunt and Thomas Thornburg, John Woolman, Samuel Emlen, Sarah and Deborah Morris and Robert Willis, an interesting group.



Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any state-
ment made in contributed articles.

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DAVID LLOYD.

(Concluded)

BY ISAAC SHARPLESS.

Nor did matters change greatly when Penn in 1709 sent over Charles Gookin to supersede Evans. The personal faults of Evans were not reproduced in Gookin, but he was obstinate and head-strong, and perhaps, as he himself intimated, a little unbalanced mentally.

There were, however, two underlying causes for the trouble. One was that Penn was now in desperate financial straits, and could not yield his perquisites except at the cost of absolute ruin. His part of the expenses of government had to be borne, the quit-rents were coming in slowly, and his steward, Ford, had cheated him out of his fortune. The income from fines, licenses and other governmental functions were his by the arrangement previously made, and he could not afford to yield them.

The other was that while Deputy Governors changed, Logan remained. He could not always control the unwise acts of the Deputies, but he could largely influence general policy and was absolutely faithful to the Penn interests. The matters for which Lloyd contended were in the interests of the larger democracy and prosperity of the colony, but Penn could not afford to give up his undoubted rights, and Logan would not yield one iota to popular clamor. Lloyd was right in looking upon Logan as his great antagonist. Both were determined and fearless, and personal feeling was added to political diversity of interests.

One of the subjects about which the controversy raged was the composition of the courts of Justice. The charter of Charles II to William Penn gave him the right to establish courts and appoint their officers. He finally allowed the Assembly to draw up bills for such establishment, but retained the appointment of judges and clerks. As Penn's interests were larger than those of any other individual, Lloyd's claim was that these officers should be independent of any obligations to him. There appear

to have been no serious complaints as to the character of these officials, or that substantial justice was not done.

Again, in a community of Friends, it was of vital consequence that a juror or witness should be accepted on his affirmation, for he would not swear. It would be impossible to secure competent administration of justice without Friends, for in all the country communities they constituted nearly all the responsible people. There is no doubt that Penn appreciated this, but the charge of Lloyd was that he did not succeed in having laws ratified in England making provision for the full acceptance of the affirmation as equivalent to the oath.

Then there was the burning question of the licensing of public houses. Lloyd and the Assembly claimed that this was one of the proper functions of the courts and that the licensees should be appointed by local authority rather than by the Proprietary, so as to secure the choice of proper persons, who would restrain drunkenness and attendant crimes.

All these and other matters were to be fought through between the Governor and Logan on one side and Lloyd and the Assembly on the other.

In the fall of 1706 Lloyd had a bill passed through the Assembly for a Supreme Court with three judges to which appeals could be made, also local courts for the counties for ordinary crimes, having also the power to grant licenses for taverns—providing that all fines should go towards the payment of the judges, who should be removable by the Assembly and therefore out of reach of proprietary influence; that the judges should appoint the clerks, and that freeholders should not be imprisoned for debt.

This, of course, would be a great step in advance towards popular control of the course of justice. The Governor objected to it *in toto*. There was no need for more than one Justice of the Supreme Court—fines and fees belonged to the Proprietary, and judges and clerks should not be independent of him. It was a Proprietary prerogative which the Assembly had no authority to question, granted by the charter and due to him in return for his large concessions and care of the province.

The Governor threatened to establish courts on his own authority, as the royal charter empowered him to do in certain cases, but the Assembly told him that any one who should advise this would be considered an enemy of the country.

A conference was arranged between the Council and Assembly and a point of etiquette now threatened a complete stop to legislation. After the matter had been debated courteously for a time Lloyd neglected to rise when he spoke. The Governor commanded him to do so. To Lloyd this command was sufficient to arouse his pugnacity and he refused to obey, saying that he represented the people and in an open conference no special deference to the Governor was necessary. This broke up the conference. The Assembly sent a semi-apologetic message to the Governor, and Lloyd himself wrote a defence which could hardly be called an apology, ending with these words, characteristic of the man: "I do solemnly declare that my refusal to comply with the Governor's humour (for so I conceive it to be when he exerts his command when he should not) was not with a design to affront him but to show my dissent to that which I thought had a tendency to frustrate the freedom of conferences; not knowing, if I complied with this, whether the next command would not more highly affect the rights and privileges of this house which I am conscientiously concerned to maintain everywhere, and if in this I have done any thing unbecoming the station you have put me in I shall freely submit to your censure."

The Governor tried to secure a more personal apology, but he never received it, and the incident added to the bitterness of the times.

Ultimately compromises were reached embracing the most for which Lloyd had striven. The Proprietary retained the right to appoint clerks of the courts and holders of licenses, but these could be nominated by provincial bodies. Judges independent of the Penn interests were not appointed by the crown according to Lloyd's plan, but men of highest character were chosen, and Lloyd himself did not disdain to accept the office of Chief Justice from his patrons' hands.

But Lloyd and Logan in the forefront of the controversy

recognized, each the other, as the chief obstacle to his plans. Penn sent over pressing advice to impeach Lloyd, for accepting office illegally under Thomas Lloyd and for his irregular actions in the case of the Remonstrance of 1704. Logan said that there were no substantial grounds on which to build an impeachment and was too wise to attempt it. But Lloyd with the full Assembly back of him entered joyously upon an impeachment of Logan. The real reason was that Logan had the brains and courage of the administration and Lloyd was right in considering him the chief obstacle in the way. Much time and much legal fencing were employed, but the matter came to an end when the Council decided that it had no authority to try impeachments and the Secretary was saved. He shortly after went to England on a visit and returned stronger than ever.

Governor Gookin next tried a tilt with Lloyd in the matter of an appropriation for a military expedition against the French in Canada. In a rather facetious letter he himself tells the results: "The Queen having honored me with her commands that this Province should furnish out 150 men for its expedition against Canada, I called an Assembly and demanded £4,000; they being all Quakers, after much delay resolved, N. C., that it was contrary to their religious principles to hire men to kill one another. I told some of them the Queen did not hire men to kill one another, but to destroy her enemies. One of them answered the Assembly understood English. After I had tried all ways to bring them to reason they again resolved, N. C., that they could not directly or indirectly raise money for an expedition to Canada, but they had voted the Queen £500 as a token of their respect, etc., and that the money should be put into a safe hand till they were satisfied from England it should not be employed for the use of war. I told them the Queen did not want such a sum, but being a pious and good woman perhaps she might give it to the clergy sent hither for the propagation of the Gospel; one of them answered that was worse than the other, on which arose a debate in the Assembly whether they should give money or not, since it might be employed for the use of war, or against their future establishment, and after much wise debate

it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only. Their number is 26.¹ They are entirely governed by their speaker, one David Lloyd."

But the people finally got tired of the bickerings of parties. Lloyd in his contest with Evans and Logan had again overstepped the mark. In the fall of 1710 the election showed a completely new Assembly. Neither Lloyd nor any of his followers was returned. Instead there came in William Trent, Jonathan Dickinson, Caleb Pusey, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris and other of the best friends of William Penn. There was what would be called in modern politics "a tidal wave" which showed that, except for serious errors by Deputies, the heart of the people was true to the Founder. Impeachments were dropped, £2,000 was voted "for the Queen's use," abundance of useful legislation, held back by the partisanship of previous years was created, and the youthful province having passed over the perilous times of infancy, started fairly on its successful career.

Lloyd was temporarily laid aside, and yet his great services in founding the real democracy of Pennsylvania under the generous provisions of the Founder had largely been accomplished. Whether he felt this or whether about this time he experienced a real change of heart, as suggested by some biographers, may never be known, but certain it is that the peaceful and also effective part of his life and public employment was yet to follow in a score of years of honored and honorable service.

He did not remain long out of public office. About 1711 he moved his residence from Philadelphia to Chester; in the same year he was elected to the Assembly from Chester County, but did not receive the Speakership. This also happened in 1712 and 1713. In 1714, however, he was unanimously chosen Speaker, for which service, in a general way, no one could compete with him in capability. The records of the time indicate the great prosperity of the Province growing in wealth and population at a rapid rate, and the absence of the unhappy divisions of earlier years. A further indication of the softening of the partisan

¹ Eight from each county and two from Philadelphia.

asperities of the first decade of the century was the appointment of David Lloyd as Chief Justice in 1718 to succeed his father-in-law, Joseph Growdon, who had held the position for ten years preceding and who had frequently opposed him in the House.

In May, 1717, Sir William Keith succeeded Governor Gookin. He was selected by Hannah Penn, for while her husband was still alive, he had so far failed in body and mind as to be incapable of business and about a year later died.

Keith was a wise and politic Governor. He had the confidence of Logan and Norris and he now undertook to secure the support of Lloyd and the Assembly and the good will of the people. He rightly judged that the Quakers must be kept friendly to him if he would be preserved from endless disputes. He found them troubled with their difficulties as to oaths, and in a diplomatic way suggested that they should adopt the English penal code and in exchange receive the right to affirm instead of swearing. The same bill which made an affirmation legal for those whose consciences would not allow them to swear, extended capital punishment to burglary, rape, counterfeiting and other serious crimes. The mild penal code of Penn wherein murder only was made a capital offense and which was applied to one case only prior to 1700, died with him. There seems to have been no testimony against capital punishment among Friends. David Lloyd, a member in good standing, drew up the bill, it was passed by a Quaker Assembly, approved by a Quaker Council and endorsed by a Quaker community. Had they felt as most modern Friends do, it may be considered as doubtful whether the right to affirm would have been deemed a sufficient compensation for a severe code involving capital punishment. We can easily appreciate how much the affirmation meant to them. For without it they would have been deprived of all share in government and anarchy would have resulted. But we can hardly appreciate that a testimony against capital punishment did not mean as much.

Governor Keith's entire attitude was gracious and conciliatory. He had learned from the experience of former Governors how hard a task it was to contest a popular Assembly led by

David Lloyd and he went over completely to the other side, yet at first not so imprudently as to draw fire from Logan and his friends. He made Lloyd his Chief Justice and assumed the role of protector of popular liberties, thus procuring for himself immediate popular support. He had his reward in prompt votes for salary and easy times.

Material prosperity accompanied political peace. There was only one drawback, the lack of ready money. Coin was drained to Europe to make the purchases needed by a growing community which imported far more than it exported. Barter was common, but was inconvenient. Keith shrewdly suggested a paper currency. Norris and Logan objected and their fears were echoed from England. There seemed to be abundant ground for hesitation. Many of the Colonies had tried it and with disastrous results. As a little stimulated trade, more, they argued, would be better; and they increased the amount until it lost its purchasing power and depreciated. But Lloyd and his friends urged it and Keith had his way.

This balance of forces was just what was needed to make it a success. It was issued sparingly on the security of land and plate. It stimulated trade and never depreciated. Pennsylvania taught the lesson, and all through her colonial history she had an abundant stable paper currency, due largely to the initiative of Keith and Lloyd and the caution of Logan. But the latter element did not win the popular appreciation as did the former, and Keith became immensely popular. The Assembly sent him a congratulatory letter and a vote of supplies. The Council, which had been largely ignored by the Governor, as indeed by the charter of 1701 he had a right to ignore it, as having no necessary function in legislation, drew away from him, and in 1722 Keith, feeling himself strong enough to dispense with it, removed Logan from his offices as Councillor and Secretary, thus forcing him out of the government entirely.

But Logan was still strong with Hannah Penn, and sailing to England he soon returned with definite instructions to Keith, threatening him with removal. Keith was constitutionally right, but he was the servant of the heirs of William Penn, and they

trusted Logan. He concluded to stand by his plans, and to set against proprietary powers, popular support. Logan attacked him in a long memorial, and David, with some of the spirit and vigor of a score of years earlier, entered the lists against his old adversary. His abundant citation of authorities and able legal arguments were conclusive, if such matters could settle the question. He was again Speaker of the Assembly as well as Chief Justice, and that body under his guidance sent to Hannah Penn a remonstrance against the contemplated removal of the Governor and a eulogy of his services to the State.

From the Lloyd point of view the administration of Keith was the consummation of the efforts for which he had been struggling for many years. The Assembly, as the representatives of the people, had been exalted and their rights defined and extended. The Courts had been created by the act of Assembly, made reasonably responsive to popular demands and the great democratic leader placed at the head of the system. The Quakers had received that for which Lloyd had always pleaded—the right to a full participation in government without being sworn. English wars had ceased to disturb the peaceable principles of the ruling sect, and to crown all a stable material prosperity, satisfying alike to proprietaries and people, had settled down upon the Province. It is not to be wondered at that Lloyd in his old age awakened from his quietude to defend the cause with which he had been so long and so intimately associated in his earlier years.

With such a record and such support Keith thought he could defy England. He felt that the heirs would hardly dare to remove him, and if they did he imagined he might even overthrow the proprietary government itself and make a crown colony, with himself as Governor.

But with all that he had learned he under-estimated the strength of the sentiment of the people of Pennsylvania to the Founder's family, and when the day of his removal came he had nothing to do but hand over his office to old Patrick Gordon, who, in 1726, had been sent over to supersede him.

Lloyd also accepted the failure of his plans gracefully. Indeed, he and the Assembly may almost be accused of apostasy

by allowing their enthusiasm for Keith to pass away. When the ex-Governor had himself elected to the next Assembly and became a candidate for Speaker, Lloyd turned against him and easily defeated him. His further career was neither happy nor dignified, and the unwisdom of his closing years was allowed to cloud his great services to the cause of free government.

This was the last important public controversy of David Lloyd. In honored performance of his duties as Chief Justice he lived until 1731. He died aged 75 years.

After this sketch of David Lloyd's life it is unnecessary to say much as to his character. He was a great lawyer, probably the greatest of Colonial Pennsylvania. In this capacity he was always efficient and faithful to his clients, sometimes possibly at the expense of pure morality. In most legal circles this would hardly seem a fault, but the Quakers of the time from their lay standpoint could not always justify him.

As a politician he was equally competent. He led by sheer ability and persistence. Logan tells us—and this was at the time before their personal differences had developed: "He is a man very stiff in all his undertakings, of a sound judgment and a good lawyer, but extremely pertinacious and somewhat revengeful." Proud says cautiously: "His political talents seem rather to divide than to unite; a policy that may suit the crafty politician but must ever be disclaimed by the Christian Statesman."

It is unfair to assume that Logan's further estimates of his character, given in the heat of their partisan controversy, are conclusive. He tells, however, how it was that Lloyd maintained his great influence in the Assembly, and we may at least guess the truth from his statements. "The generality (of the Assemblymen) are honestly and well inclined and out of the Assembly are very good men, but when got together I know not how they are infatuated and led by smooth stories," and again he speaks of the great influence "he has over the majority composed of designing and weak men;" and again, "He carries so fair with our weak country people and those that have long looked upon him to be the champion of the Friends' cause in government matters in former times that there is no possessing

them." And again, "Jones and Wilcox stand by him in mischievous intentions. The rest think they are faithfully discharging their duty to the country."

Lloyd was the great leader of the country members, and these were a large majority of the Assembly. They were worthy, honest men, but Lloyd was so vastly their superior in learning, ability and political skill that he practically voted them as he would. Whenever the Logan party got control a much abler and more responsible body of men appeared in the Assembly, only to be thrown aside when Lloyd returned to power.

David Lloyd became for the times wealthy, but no suspicion of mercenary methods appears in his politics. He probably made his money by his legal practice and still more by advances on real estate. His salary as Chief Justice was generally £150 a year, and the Assembly paid him for his labors in framing legislation and writing addresses, but his public work would not explain more than a poor living.

As a Friend we do not find him prominently mentioned in the minutes of the meetings—at least in comparison with the records of Samuel Carpenter, Isaac Norris and many another. Perhaps there was, as the minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in the case of the dispute with Pastorius shows, a lurking suspicion that his methods could not be fully justified.

It is a significant fact, however, that Chester Monthly Meeting was the most persistent of any in urging upon the Yearly Meeting the iniquity of the slave trade and the necessity to take strong action.² The first one of these epistles was in 1711, which was the year Lloyd moved from Philadelphia to Chester, and the last was in 1730, the year before he died, and their style suggests the bold, vigorous, uncompromising spirit that penned the Assembly addresses of the same period. This is not conclusive, but it seems highly probable that the attitude of the early Friends of Pennsylvania towards questions of slavery was largely due to the clear thinking and fearless writing of David Lloyd.

² See Whittier's Introduction to "John Woolman's Journal."

David Lloyd's second wife was Grace Growdon, the daughter of Joseph Growdon, of Bucks County, one of the leading men of the colony and in the main an adherent of the Penn-Logan party. Why the father cut off Grace with five shillings in his will is probably not known, but he frequently opposed his son-in-law in politics. They were married in 1697. Their only son died when four years old, as the result, it is stated, of fright because he was placed in a dark closet for punishment during the absence of his parents. David Lloyd had no descendants to care for his reputation, and except in the public records, he left but little about himself.

He had landed interests in Chester and represented Chester County in the Assembly until 1700. Then he transferred his residence to Philadelphia, and that county made him its representative for the coming decade. Afterwards he moved to Chester for his declining years.

Grace Lloyd was a minister in the Society of Friends and was much loved and trusted. There is an account in the life of Jane Hoskins³ which gives a little insight into the family and religious life of David and Grace Lloyd.

Jane Fenn (afterwards Hoskins) come over to Pennsylvania in 1712, in response to a call of duty. She was of poor circumstances, and engaged herself as a servant in Friends' families, at the same time diligently attending religious meetings. She tells her own story: "One First-day after I had sat some time in Haverford Meeting, David Lloyd from Chester, with his wife and several other Friends came into meeting. As soon as they were seated, it was as though it had been spoken to me, 'These are the people with whom thou must go and settle.' They being strangers to me, and appearing as persons of distinction, I said, Lord, how can such an one as I get acquainted with people who appear so much above the common rank. The word was in my soul, 'Be still, I will make way for thee in their hearts—they shall seek to thee.' I knew not what to think of this, and was afraid it might be a temptation of Satan; yet was contented in

³ Friends' Library, Vol. I, p. 460, etc.

the thought, that the Lord who never yet failed, was all-sufficient to provide for me. At that instant a great stillness came over me, and I felt the love of my heavenly Father to affect me in a very uncommon manner. I afterwards understood that David Lloyd and his wife fixed their eyes upon me, felt a near sympathy with me, such as they had never known towards a stranger before, and said in their hearts, this young woman is or will be a preacher. They were both tendered, and it was fixed in their minds, that they were to take me under their care, and nurse me for the Lord's service, with a promise that his blessing should attend them. This I had from their own mouths after I lived with them."

Jane Fenn became "an upper servant" in the family of David Lloyd. This came in response to a suggestion of an English Friend who had become interested in her religious life. "After dinner," she says, "the Friend spoke to David Lloyd and his wife. 'Take this young woman, make her your adopted child and give her liberty to go wherever Truth leads.' . . . Grace Lloyd then took me into another apartment and told me how she and her husband were drawn in love to me the first time they saw me at Haverford."

Jane Fenn became a minister and made extensive travels through other colonies to Barbadoes and later to Ireland and England in religious service. She returned from a foreign trip in 1730 "and was affectionately received by my kind friends and benefactors, David and Grace Lloyd."

"Soon after my arrival David Lloyd was taken ill with his last sickness, during which I thought it my duty to attend on him as usual. On the 6th of the second month, 1731, he departed this life; and in him I lost a father, and a sure friend. In all the journeys I went, whilst he lived, he cheerfully supplied me with the necessaries requisite. He was exemplary in his family, treating all about him with humanity, choosing rather to be loved than feared. He was diligent in attending meetings for worship, and those of his servants who inclined to go to meetings, he allowed to perform that necessary duty. After my arrival I did not live as an hired servant with David Lloyd, or with his widow,

though I remained with her, at her request, till I married, which was in the year 1738."

The value of David Lloyd's services to the State will lie, (1) in his successful insistence upon an independent legislature. He had evidently a large though undetermined share in procuring from Penn the charter of 1701, which cut the Council out of all legislative powers. He was ever keen to notice any small attempts to reinstate it in such powers in indirect ways. He had the modern faith in the people and was jealous of any tendency which would circumscribe the privilege of the elective Assembly. (2) He, more than any other man, fought out the Quaker battle for the affirmation instead of the oath, and for the further contest for a form of affirmation which was simply a promise, without bringing in the name of God, which in some minds made it a modified oath; and (3) while Penn arranged for an executive and a legislature, he omitted to make provision for a judiciary, probably intending to create this by his own authority under his charter from the King. The form which the machinery of the courts finally assumed and its large independence of proprietary influence, was the great work of David Lloyd.

In the words of Proud, it is true that Lloyd's efforts "tended rather to divide than to unite." He could not work comfortably with opponents and bring them to his own point of view. By his staunch Quakerism and superior knowledge he brought his followers into loyal allegiance, but he was uncompromising in his attitude towards opposition. Whether the beneficent results of his career could have been achieved by a gentler spirit, less tenacious of every little point, arousing less personal antagonism, more gracious and diplomatic in argument, may be difficult to determine with certainty. It is not unreasonable so to think.

But it is difficult to estimate the full value of his services. His strong personality, his persistent energy, his extreme perception of the value of liberty and determination to defend it against any, even small, encroachments, made him a strong factor, perhaps after William Penn the strongest factor in building up the colonial Commonwealth on the basis of popular rights. Had he known how the letters to Penn of his great rival would

have formed the basis of history, he might have left stronger defences of his work and positions. There is not much evidence, however, that he considered the judgment of the future as of consequence. He was too busy attaining immediate objects. It is only in quite recent times that his name and reputation have emerged from the mass of statements against him contained in the voluminous letters of political opponents and their descendants. Without family, with a following, numerous and devoted but not literary, with an independence which kept him in somewhat doubtful relations to many of the prominent Friends of the Yearly Meeting, without adequate biography, he has hardly received the attention which his undoubtedly great public services demand.

His countrymen appreciated him. The Rev. Abel Morgan wrote a Welsh Concordance to the Bible, which was published in 1730 and dedicated to Chief Justice Lloyd as a token of esteem and an appreciation of his devotion to the principles of liberty. He aided in the revision of the translation of a religious treatise called "A Salutation to the Britains." During his later years he published two small treatises: "A Vindication of the Legislative Powers" and "A Defense of the Legislative Constitution of the Province of Pennsylvania."

These were the occupation of his declining years of peaceful repose in contrast with the stirring scenes of his earlier life. They indicate, however, that the trend of his thought never changed.

AN ADDRESS OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING TO KING GEORGE I, 1725.¹

[The following interesting address to George I has been furnished the BULLETIN by M. Ethel Crawshaw of London. It has been copied from the original in the London Record Office.

¹ NOTE.—Record Office, London, C.O.5. 1233, No. 172. [Endorsed] "Address by the Quakers at Philadelphia." 18½ inches by 16½ inches. From the word "Signed" to the end in John Estaugh's hand.

The occasion referred to in the paper was the passage in 1724 of the act allowing affirmations in legal matters. Under William Penn's legislation affirmations were provided for and were of equal value with oaths. In 1714 or 1715 the English act regulating legal oaths was extended to the colonies for five years. Governor Gookin claimed that this repealed the Quaker legislation regarding affirmations, and in spite of urgent remonstrances and protests held to his opinion. When Penn's charter was granted the scruples of the Quakers were perfectly well known and the charge that Gookin's action was one of bad faith seems just. As nearly all magistracies, judgeships, etc., were held by Quakers, the administration of justice came to a standstill. This condition lasted for about two years, and it is greatly to the credit of the community that comparatively little disorder or crime resulted. The story is too long a one to follow. Suffice it to say that in 1724 an act was passed by the Pennsylvania Assembly which was accepted by the crown. A form of affirmation was agreed upon satisfactory to the Quakers, but any one was permitted to take an oath if he so preferred. The result, however, was to drive the Quakers from all offices which involved administering oaths, for individuals who might have no objection to administering a legal oath to another, who had no scruples, were disciplined by their meetings. To gain this compromise the Pennsylvania Quakers agreed to adopt the English criminal code, thus adding many crimes to the list of capital offenses. William Penn's humane code was practically abolished, and was not restored until the time of American Revolution.²

It is to the acceptance of this compromise act that the somewhat fulsome words of the address refer.

As George I could neither speak nor read English it is not likely he ever saw the address, and probably would have cared little for it if he had. As a matter of fact, it is well known he cared nothing for his British subjects.—EDITOR.]

² See article "David Lloyd" in present issue, p. 79.

ADDRESS.

To Our Gracious Sovereign George King of Great Brittain &c.

The Humble address of His Protestant Subjects called Quakers from Their Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia in the Province of Pensilvania the twenty first day of the Seventh Month [Sept.] one thousand Seven hundred and twenty five, 1725.

In an Humble Sence of the many blessings and Mercys which flow from the Divine Being to Mankind, We cannot but see and acknowledge them to be in a peculiar manner dispensed to the Nations and People over Whom He hath been pleas'd to establish so gracious a Prince, Great in his goodness and Love to his People, Great in the benignity of his Reign which reaches to the most distant of his Subjects, And Great in the Sight of the Nations round about.

If any of the present Age should yet through Wantonness or wickedness shut their eyes and not See or be thank full for such happiness, Ages to come will look back upon it with Admiration And Kings may set before them the Example; Posterity will mark it in their Annals and if ever Attempts should again be made upon true Liberty and the Laws, Princes may find the mistake and dishonour of such endeavours in former times and remark Thy Reign as the way to true grandure.

We have great cause among the rest of Our ffellow-Subjects to express Our affection and Duty to Our Sovereign and to be as we truly are particularly thankfull for the Royal assent to An Act of this Province Entitul'd An Act prescribing the forms of declaration of fidelity Abjuration and Affirmation instead of the forms heretofore required in such cases.

This benevolence of Our King in A matter which so nearly touches the Conscience makes deep Impression on our Hearts beyond words. But to the Almighty who sees them do we earnestly pray for the long continuance of His Reign. That an increase of blessings may be showered down on his Person and Throne and that his Posterity may be late and long established therein.

Signed In Behalfe and by apoyntment of the said Meeting.

JOHN ESTAUGH.

A CHURCH QUARREL AND WHAT RESULTED.

BY JULIA S. WHITE.

"Rachel Wright a friend of the Ministry and wife of John Wright one of the first beginners of a Meeting at Bush River Departed this life the 23rd Day of the 12 mo. one Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy one 1771 aged about 52 years." It is thus that the records of the Friends' meeting at Bush River, South Carolina, chronicle the death of one, who, despite her being "a friend of the Ministry," had given the church considerable trouble, trouble so far-reaching that this good woman would have stood aghast at the consequent results. For it was about Rachel Wright that one of the greatest church quarrels of North Carolina Yearly Meeting centered. In the quarrel there came first the disownment of Herman Husband from membership with Friends, a fact which left him free to become the leader in the Regulation movement, culminating in the Battle of Alamance, and that without doing violence to the peace principles of the church.

The second notable result of this church quarrel was the settlement of Friends in the State of Georgia at Wrightsboro. One of the factions led by Joseph Maddock and Jonathan Sell swarmed off and made this settlement; and knowing their sympathies in the Rachel Wright affair, one is not surprised to find the name of the meeting such as it is, *i. e.*, Wrightsboro.

It is for defending the Friends of North Carolina in a careful adherence to their peace principles which is the object of this paper and not to defend or to condemn our "Friend of the Ministry," Rachel Wright.

As is well known, the storm center of the Regulation movement was in what is now Alamance and adjoining counties. The Friends' meeting of that section at that time was Cane Creek, a meeting still vigorous and the oldest Friends' meeting in the Piedmont district of North Carolina. This meeting was established in 1751 and has maintained itself ever since. The original members of this meeting were a part of that great wave of colonization coming largely from Pennsylvania, and pouring

southward through Maryland and the valley of Virginia into Piedmont, Carolina, and then on across the line into South Carolina and yet on into the hill country of Georgia. These people were largely Scotch-Irish and brought to Carolina an influx of sturdiness and of thrift which soon gained recognition from, and ere long precedence over, the eastern section of the State which at that time (1751) had been settled about one hundred years.

In the second year of the existence of the Cane Creek meeting Rachel Wright asks for a "certificate to travel in the service of Truth in Lower Virginia." In 1753 she makes a visit to Friends of the Cape Fear (N. C.) section. In 1758 she visits families and thus she seems quite active as "a friend of the Ministry." However, in 1762 she "hath been guilty of some disorders" (its nature is not recorded). She offers a paper of condemnation and the same is accepted. By the next year she has moved to South Carolina, and when her certificate is asked for the trouble begins; for some Friends think "there was lack of sincerity" in the paper of condemnation which was offered the meeting and the certificate is withheld. Rachel Wright appeals to the Quarterly Meeting (Western), and this meeting, after careful investigation, decides Cane Creek Monthly Meeting "to be rather too exact or strenuous." The committee appointed by the Quarterly Meeting reversed the decision of the Monthly Meeting and issued the certificate. This, of course, left Cane Creek Monthly Meeting in a turmoil. Twelve Friends of the Quarterly Meeting are appointed to try to settle matters at Cane Creek, but in 11th month, 1763, they report as follows:

"There still appears a great disorder in the said Monthly Meeting of Cane Creek occasioned by a party not only contending with and opposing the proceedings of the Quarterly Meeting but also making a division and separation in the said Monthly Meeting by endeavoring to uphold, maintain and defend practices contrary to the wholesome rules of discipline established in the wisdom of Truth amongst us. And the chief actors in this party appears to be Herman Husbands, Joseph Maddock, Isaac Vernon, Thomas Branson, John and Wm. Marshall, Jonathan

Cell [Sell] with divers others that appears in a more private way to join them whose present situation and manner of proceedings appears to this meeting to be of very dangerous and destructive consequence, etc."

Be it said that the above named Friends were suspended from "the privilege of active members or to be made use of in any of our meetings."

Joseph Maddock, Jonathan Sell [Cell], John and Wm. Marshall make an appeal to the Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting condemns the action of the Quarterly Meeting in "granting Rachel Wright a certificate if the same were carried into a precedent;" and it also reversed the minute of the Quarterly Meeting disabling "the said appellants from being active members." This matter tosses back and forth with the Monthly Meeting doing one thing, the Quarterly Meeting reversing it and the Yearly Meeting overruling that. However, Rachel Wright and her children get a certificate in 3d month, 1767.

In the meanwhile it will be noted that while Herman Husband's name headed the list of those who at first opposed the certificate, his name does not appear in the later deliberations; for, previous to the Yearly Meeting in 10th month, 1764, the following appears in the Cane Creek records for 1st month, 1764: "Herman Husband being complained of for being guilty of making remarks on the actions and transactions of this meeting as well as elsewhere as his mind, and publicly advertising the same, and after due labor with him in order to show him the evil of so doing this meeting agrees to disown him as also to publish the testimony."

This seems a long preliminary to show *how* Herman Husband lost his membership among Friends, as well as *when*, and that it came about in a pure church quarrel with nothing save a war of words as its cause; also that the *date* of the same was much prior (four years) to the real work of the Regulation. Hence, while Husband had been a Friend, his leadership in the Regulation was not the cause of his severance from the Society, neither did he directly bring reproach upon the Society in its attitude toward war, by his keen participation in the revolt against

undue taxation. And yet it cannot be said that Friends have not lost much from the fact that Herman Husband ever was a Quaker; for any popular work in Carolina to-day in regard to him seems thoroughly at ease upon the fact that he was a Quaker. Some even call him a "Quaker preacher." (See Fitch, *Some Neglected Bits of North Carolina History*.) But I can find no hint of the same in the church records. That he was a born leader every one acknowledges and that he was such in the church is also evident.

Haywood, in his book on Governor Tryon, satirizes Husband's desertion at the Battle of Alamance in the following words: "The odor thereof (*i. e.*, Battle) reminded him of what up to that time he seems to have forgotten, that he was a Quaker with conscientious scruples against carnal warfare. So leaving his less pious followers to try conclusions with the hated Tryon he scampered away to Pennsylvania there to breed fresh discord, etc."

A much more candid statement and one coming from nearer the time of Husband is found in Caruther's *Life of David Caldwell*, and is as follows: "There is no class of people in the country who are better acquainted with all business transactions of ordinary life or who have a more correct understanding of their rights and privileges as citizens; but the Quakers, if they were not foremost in the Regulation, appear to have united heartily in all the measures for the correction of abuses, except *fighting*, and it is said that *some* of them had metal enough to try their hand at that too. . . . It is doubtful whether even Herman Husband really wished to fight. Indeed I have been told by some *who knew him well* in their youth and who were at that time eighteen or twenty years of age that his Quaker principles would not let him fight and that when he saw the tug of war would come he mounted his horse and rode away."

That Husband was an agitator is easily concluded, and that he could be exasperating is proved in the case of the taxes from his constituency which he contemptuously proffered the Governor with the statement that the taxes were worth so much *butter*, but as that would stick he had brought its value in coin. Hus-

band's whole residence in Carolina, a period covering less than twenty years, seems to have been stormy much of the time. His coming is recorded as follows: "Herman Husband produced a certificate." This is the record of Cane Creek meeting for 1755, 12th month. Stephen B. Weeks says that Husband first came to Carolina in 1751 to Carver's Creek in Bladen County, that he had been prominent among the Friends in East Nottingham, Md., had once had a certificate to visit the Barbadoes and that he and his younger brother Joseph were the first of the family who were Friends.

In 1762 Herman Husband married Mary Pugh, and a section of the marriage certificate runs thus: "Now these are to certify whom it may concern that the full accomplishing of this said marriage this 16th day of 6 mo. 1762, Herman Husband and Mary Pugh appeared in a public meeting of the said people for that purpose at the meeting house of said people in the 'haw fields' (?), etc." (This Hawfields is rather indefinite, but perhaps somewhere on Haw River.) However, the minute in Cane Creek Monthly Meeting for 7th month, 1762, is as follows: "The Friends appointed to attend the marriage of Herman Husband and Mary Pugh report it was orderly accomplished."

In 1764, only two years later, we find the minute which made such a stir in the meeting and which was passed over a protest on the part of certain members, that given above showing his disownment. While other parties in the Rachel Wright faction seem to have been restored to active membership, we have no record that Herman Husband ever became reinstated.

Whether the Rachel Wright was a kinswoman of Husband's or whether the two families had intermarried is easily suggested by the fact that Husband's daughter married a Wright. This daughter remained a resident of North Carolina though and lived on Deep River near her father's estate for fifteen or twenty years after the Revolution.

In 1767, 2nd month, there occurs a statement disowning "Amey Allen now Husband" for disorderly³ marriage. In as

³ "Disorderly," that is, not in accordance with the discipline.

much as the Quarterly Meeting (5th month, 1766) had been appealed to by the Monthly Meeting in this matter, it must have been an important breach. This is the Quarterly Meeting minute: "Cane Creek likewise refers to the case of those Friends who attended the disorderly marriage of Amey Allen now Husbands for our advice and judgment therein and after mature consideration in the case it appears to be the sense and judgment of this meeting that those Friends who attended such marriage have broke through the rules of our discipline and decent order, and that suitable satisfaction ought to be given for their proceedings, and it is the advice of this meeting to Friends of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting to use their best endeavors in Christian love to bring them to a sense of their outgoings, and if they can't be reclaimed to show their disunity with them." The Friends must have come "to a sense of their outgoings," as no one seems to have been disowned save Amey herself. That she married a Husband and that it made such a stir both in the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings at once raised the question as to whether she were a second wife of the always troublesome Herman Husband. Effort to substantiate this has failed to secure a response.

The Regulation movement did not definitely begin until 1768, and even its first movement was not before 1765, so we see that though Herman Husband had been a Friend, he had already been four years out of the church before becoming a leader in the opposition to unjust taxation. The opinion that Friends were involved in the Regulation movement is no doubt due to the statement of Governor Tryon, that "the Regulators were a faction of Baptists and Quakers who were trying to overthrow the church of England." This charge is so wide of the mark in its conception of the object of the Regulation war and so easy is it to discredit the Quaker part of it that one is surprised at the Governor's great misconception. This "Great Wolf of North Carolina" was a soldier by taste and training, but with a little wife of great social ambition, he perforce set himself to gather money for the erection of a palace at Newbern, which was the wonder of the age and to make life at the capital take on much

the semblance of court functions. The people were already groaning under a burden of taxation which sapped their private incomes and left them rebellious and discontented, and to add yet more to satisfy luxury was more than they could endure. In many ways they tried to show their discontent and to make a *fair* and peaceable adjustment, but availing little they finally were exasperated and so came the Regulation movement, ending in the Battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771.

That Herman Husband should be a leader in a movement for justice and fair play is but natural. As a citizen he was reputed to be "sober, intelligent, industrious and prosperous; honest and just in his dealings, the owner of a considerable body of good land and judging from his crops a good farmer. His 'clover meadows and fields of wheat' that Tryon destroyed are described as particularly fine." There is no evidence that he was either violent or depraved or seditious, but only lawfully and naturally restive under official oppression. That Husband was the target for the Regulation opposition no less than in the church quarrel of years before proves him a good agitator and one who believes in putting principles in action, and doing so fearless of consequences. That he suffered much on account of his interest in the Regulation movement is amply proved by a careful perusal of the annals of the same. That he was always discreet would have been practically impossible in one of his temperament, or who felt so keenly as he the injustice of the oppression of the time and the continuous threats on the part of the government. Defeated as he was in that to which he had given so loyally the most vigorous years of his life, after the Battle of Alamance, Husband leaves the State, goes to Pennsylvania, where he becomes a partner in the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794, here again proving true to the spirit which he had manifested in Carolina.

Not having been born a Quaker (Husband himself says he was born in the Church of England), and having had only a few years of Quaker training and discipline, one does not wonder that when expelled from the church Husband should easily have fallen into non-Quakerly ways.

That Friends in Alamance, and Cane Creek Meeting in particular, were much troubled during the Regulation days is proved both negatively and positively. The minutes of that meeting around 1771 are very meager, as if the meeting were at a low ebb, and for positive proof we have so early as 1768 this entry: "Abraham Hammer and George Henry are complained of for joining a number to withstand paying taxes until better satisfied to know what such monies are applied to *also* for *making warlike preparations*." They were disowned.

Again in 1769: "Herman Cox is complained of for joining the Regulators so called. Labor being extended from month to month without any hopes of reclaiming, etc.," he was disowned.

Again in 1776, which it will be noted is five years after the Battle of Alamance, one John Hinshaw presented to the meeting a statement "condemning going in company with the Regulators." This seems to have satisfied the meeting and he retained his membership.

That New Garden Monthly Meeting was equally zealous to maintain the Quaker testimony against all war is shown by the expulsion of Jesse Lane and Edward Thornbrough for joining in the Regulation movement. That these Friends were disowned without let or hindrance is ample proof that Friends as a body had no part in the warlike procedure, however much they may have been a part of those North Carolinians whom Washington Irving in his life of George Washington (V. 4, Chapter VIII) describes as possessing "a quick sensibility to wrong, a stern appreciation of their rights and an indomitable spirit of freedom and independence. It was in fact the spirit of popular liberty and self-government which stirred within them and gave birth to the glorious axiom, 'The rights of the many against the exactions of the few.'" It was this spirit which led Herman Husband to be a leader in the uprising on account of *economic* wrongs, which touched his sympathy for an aggrieved people and made him plead for justice which the world has interpreted as leadership in rebellion. That this war of the Regulation was an economic uprising would make it very reasonable that Friends might have been strong promoters of the movement until it

should become military. For none more than the Friends have at all times and under all circumstances opposed injustice and oppression whether it be toward the men in red skins or those in black or toward themselves.

Herman Husband must have been a man of force and a man who could not be mediocre; and it is for this reason that wherever he goes his presence is felt, and felt on the side on which in his judgment justice is to be found. For this we can but admire the man, though his methods could not and did not gain the sanction of the church. And while he was true to his convictions, the church, too, was careful in a praiseworthy manner to maintain its standards for peace as well as exercise due Christian care before disowning its members.

Again I repeat that in all the annals of Quakerism in North Carolina there is no church quarrel on record more far-reaching in results than that of Rachel Wright; for it gave Herman Husband significance in the church, which fact might have been overlooked in his later prominence in State history. It also was the primary cause which led to the large settlement of Friends in Georgia. Not that all the membership of the Wrightsboro (Ga.) meeting were discontents from Cane Creek by any means; but that the *leaders* were is established without doubt, namely, James Maddock and Jonathan Sell [Cell], the friends and upholders of Herman Husband.

And, last but not least, in an ulterior manner, saved the Society of Friends in North Carolina from furnishing the leader in the Regulation movement.

Guilford College, N. C.

DECLARATION OF FIDELITY TO WILLIAM III¹

[The following interesting document, as well as that which follows it, has been sent to THE BULLETIN by M. Ethel Crawshaw, of the Friends' Reference Library, London.

¹Record Office C. O. 5. 1257 p. 537.

As Andrew Hamilton, referred to in the document as "our Governor Andrew Hamilton," was Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, 1701-1703, the date of the declaration cannot be earlier than 1701. The "Horrid Plott" probably was that known as the Assassination or Fenwick's Plot, from Sir John Fenwick, one of the chief conspirators. It occurred in 1696, and Fenwick was captured, condemned by a Bill of Attainder, and was executed early in 1697.

As a result of Fenwick's and other plots against William, an association, known as the Loyal Association, was formed to protect him or to avenge his death should he be assassinated. All officers, civil and military, were required to join it. It was also joined by over four hundred members of the House of Commons and by thousands of private persons.—EDITOR.]

Wee the subscribers to this present Instrument (being vnder y^e Denomination of Quakers) haueing Vnderstood, that a Horrid Plott, and Conspiracy, hath bin Contrived against y^e person and Government, of King William y^e third over England &c: which it hath pleased God Graciously to prevent; by a timely Discovery thereof: as appears at large, by an Act of Parliament presented to vs at this time by our Governor, Andrew Hamilton: Recommending it as proper, for us after y^e Example of England &c: to subscribe; to y^e form of an association in that Act Contained. Or at least; that such of us whose Religious Principles will not Suffer us to Subscribe in manner and form therein Expressed: Should Answer y^e Intent of it, by Subscribing to a Declaration, of our ffidelity and Loyalty, to y^e King and Government as now Established; which we willingly, and Chearfully, doe in manner following viz:

Wee doe Sollemnly Promise, and Declare; in y^e presence of God; y^e Wittness of y^e truth of what we say

That we will allwayes be ffaithfull to King William; and vse all such Endeavors, as we can: for y^e preservation and Safety of his person and Government. And doe Utterly Abhorr, and Detest, all Traiterouse and Dissloyall practices, against our King and Government, and are Thankfull to God, for his preservations Continued Over his person; and y^e Realmes he Rules which we pray God long to Continue in peace and Safety.

Sam^l Jenings Speak^r

ffrancis Dauenport

William Biddle

Mahlon Stacye

Daniel Wills

Tho: Gardiner

Thomas Thackera

Richard Heritage

John Taylor

James Atkinson

Sam^l Spicer

John Adames

Thomas Raper

Joshua Humphris

Thomas Lambert

John Scott

Henry ballinger

Richard Darkin

hananiah ganns

Joseph Cooper

Joseph Browne

John Wright

John Hugg

Mathew Medcalfe

The † Mark of

John † Woolston

The D Marke of

John Day

Sam^l Wade

John Hugg Ju^r

Wm. Hall

William Cooper

John Hollinshead

Peter Strettwell

Jon^a Beere

Benj. Wheate

John Thompson

William Pate

Archebell Mickell

ffredom Lippincott

Robert Widder

William Wood

George Deacon

CERTIFICATE FOR JOHN GRUBB, 1731.

[The original of the following certificate is now (1914) in the possession of J. Ernest Grubb, of Carrick on Suir, Ireland. He writes concerning it that it was issued when John Grubb

was coming home after building a ship for Francis Annesley, of Waterford. The first name in the original is not very clear,—it might be Bunby, Buzby, or Bunley. The careful statements in the document are very characteristic. Many of the names appended to the paper will be familiar to not a few readers of the BULLETIN.—EDITOR.]

CERTIFICATE FOR JOHN GRUBB, 1731.

ffrom our Mens Monthly meeting of friends at Burlington in the Province of New Jersey held the 6th day of the 7th mo: 1731. To the mens monthly Meeting at Killcomon in the County of Tipparary in Ireland.

These may Certifie that our friend John Grubb by his letter to us desired that a Confirmation from our Monthly Meeting might be had to what some of our friends gave him at his going of from us and accordingly application was made to our Mens Meeting and after due Enquirey was made it appeared that he had frequented our Meetings as often as his Occasions would allow and that when he was at liberty, and was pretty Orderly in his Conversation and very Carefull and dilligent about his Employers affairs. so desiring his wellfare in the truth that is unchangeable we remain your friends and brethren.

Signed by order and on the behalf of the said Meeting by us

THOMAS BUNBY
JONATHAN WRIGHT
RICHARD SMITH
THOMAS SCATTERGOOD
JOHN CRAIG
DANIEL SMITH
CALEB RAPER
JOSHUA RAPER
MATTHEW CHAMPION
EBENEZER LARGE

JOHN WILLS
HENRY BURR
HUGH SHARP
JOHN RODMAN junior
IS DE COW
DANIELL WILLS
THOMAS WETHERLL
JOHN GREEN
JOHN STOKES

ANNUAL MEETING OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1914.

Arrangements were made to hold the Tenth Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia on Third month 2d, 1914, but owing to the severe snow-storm of the previous night and the resultant blockade of many lines of travel, the meeting was postponed until Third month 12th, 1914.

The business meeting convened in the west room of the Meeting House at Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, at 6 p. m., with about seventy-five members present.

The usual routine of reports and the nomination and election of officers and councillors first claimed attention.

Amelia M. Gummere, on behalf of the committee having in consideration the preparation and publication of a complete edition of the Journal of John Woolman from the original manuscripts, made a brief verbal report. The editorial work is now in progress and it is hoped that it may be possible to have the work published in about a year's time.

Allen C. Thomas, editor of the BULLETIN, made an earnest plea soliciting those who have old papers, letters, bills, etc., etc., that might be of historic interest, to send such to him for examination or review. From such material oftentimes valuable items may be gathered and preserved by being published in the BULLETIN. Papers sent for this purpose will be returned to the senders, if so requested, if they are not yet prepared to present them to the Society.

Tong Sing Kow,¹ who holds an important position as a mining engineer under the Chinese Government, and who graduated from the University of California about twenty-five years ago, was present as a guest. Upon invitation of the President he favored the meeting with a few remarks, which were expressive of his gratification of meeting with Friends in the old historic meeting-house and of his appreciation and interest in Quaker history.

¹ Tong Sing Kow is the original of the story of "The Chinese Quaker," written by Nellie Blessing-Eyster, New York, 1902.

The meeting was then adjourned.

A few minutes later the supper room became an attractive scene, where members and their guests were comfortably seated at tables which were arranged tastefully with an ample repast.

Carnations, daffodils and other flowers were used in decoration, and at each plate was placed an appropriate souvenir folder, representing a view of the Arch Street Meeting House, and the pictures entitled, "George Fox Refusing to Take the Oath" and "John Woolman and the Slave."

After the supper Amelia M. Gummere read a valuable paper describing "John Woolman at Home."

She emphasized especially the human side of his life, which was largely omitted in the published editions of his Journal, which represent more of his spiritual experiences. He represents the beginning of the type of the modern Friend in his work for the social betterment of mankind, but he worked as an individual and not in the organized corporate group. Having no taste for agriculture, he learned the trade of tailor, and later in his life he was a teacher of Friends' children. He traveled in the ministry from New England to North Carolina, and his death occurred while upon a religious visit in England.

Gertrude Roberts Sherer followed with a refreshing, interesting review and characterization of the early Friends, entitled "When Quakerism was Young."

George Fox and his co-workers having experienced the enlightenment of the Divine Light in their souls, and being convinced of the Truth, felt confident of their message and hesitated not to proclaim it to the world. They believed that practical religious and social reforms would lead to the transformation of the world. George Fox gathered about him leaders, many of them youthful men, such as John Audland, Edward Burroughs, Francis Howgil, John Camm, Gervase Benson, Richard Hubberton and others, who accepted the call to service, and by their lives and teaching made it their business to proclaim the Truth to all conditions of people. They took time for fellowship and leadership and ministers were sent out to the little meetings that "they should not be left only to wait."

M. S. A.

OFFICERS OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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LUCY C. SHELMIRE
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BOOKS, ETC., RECENTLY ISSUED, AND OF INTEREST
TO FRIENDS.

John Woolman, His Life and Our Times; Being a Study in Applied Christianity. By W. Teignmouth Shore. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1913. 12mo, ix, 273 pp. 5 shillings net.

From England, where John Woolman laid down his saintly life, comes an appreciation of the man and his work which is still another effort to visualize this remarkable character. He shares with Shakespeare an almost total lack of facts dealing with his personal life, for his Journal has the first requisite of a classic, in that it might have been written for any, or for all, time.

To make up for this absence of the human, or rather, the personal, note, W. T. Shore has supplied some interesting pages on the Quaker Philadelphia of John Woolman's day.

The "Story of an Old Farm," by Andrew Mellick, which he quotes for the country setting of Northampton Township, belongs rather to the hills of Northern New Jersey than to the perfectly flat, and ultra-English surroundings in which Woolman was born. No more conservative, plain Quaker social atmosphere ever existed than the Jersey village of Rancocas in the eighteenth century. The atmosphere depicted by Andrew Mellick is essentially Dutch, while Burlington County, even in the survival of certain customs, to-day bears evidence of its pure English ancestry. The house in Mt. Holly, incorrectly illustrated by Bowden (*History of Friends in America*, Vol. 2, p. 393) as Woolman's, was, in fact, built in 1786, by another tailor, also a Quaker, Jabez Woolston, as the date-stone still testifies. It would be ungracious to dwell on slight slips, such as the "appointment" of Woolman as "Minister at Mount Holly particular meeting" (p. 45); the location of the Philadelphia merchant, John Smith, in Burlington, in 1748 (p. 58), and various other errors.

What we seek is Woolman's "Christianity" applied to "Our Times"—and we are disappointed when we miss this altogether. Nevertheless, let us rejoice at having a sympathetic pen dwell so lovingly on the wonderful Journal and selections from Woolman's essays. It is much to have attention again called to their timeliness, and the loveliness of a saintlike character loses nothing in the hands of W. Teignmouth Shore.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

Annual Monitor for 1914. No. 102. John Bellows, Gloucester, 1913. 16mo. viii, 191 pp. One shilling and six pence.

This issue of this familiar series is an unusually interesting one, containing as it does memoirs of several Friends well known to American Friends. Such are Sarah Satterthwaite Clark, Joseph Storrs Fry, Thomas

Hodgkin, all of whom were over eighty years of age, Henry Stanley Newman, and James Tangye.

Clio, a Muse, and Other Essays, Literary and Pedestrian. By George Macaulay Trevelyan, author of "Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic," etc. With map. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913. 8vo. viii, 200 pp. \$1.50 net.

Of this attractive and valuable collection of essays, the only one which especially interests readers of the BULLETIN is a short one on John Woolman. The author's presentation is pleasant, appreciative and sympathetic, but adds nothing that is new.

Separations in America. By Edward Grubb, 1914. Hadley Brothers. One shilling.

This little book is a reprint of the papers which appeared in the *British Friend* during 1913. They form a survey from an English point of view of the regrettable divisions which occurred among American Friends during the nineteenth century. There will doubtless be some difference of opinion regarding the author's inferences and conclusions, but his aim is very clearly to be impartial and give an accurate account. The view of an honest outsider is always suggestive.

A History of Pennsylvania. By Allen C. Thomas, A.M. . . . D. C. Heath & Co. Boston, New York, Chicago [1913]. 12mo. vi, 312 pp. 75 cents.

This short history of Pennsylvania has been written chiefly for use in the public schools of Pennsylvania. The author, who is the editor of the BULLETIN, has endeavored "to furnish a brief, yet adequate, account of the history of Pennsylvania in a form which will commend itself to teachers and pupils."

Though in no sense a Quaker book, it presents the history of colonial Pennsylvania, not only from a sympathetic point of view, but with an understanding of Quaker history, tenets, customs, and aims which one can scarcely attain who has not been "to the manner born."

Christ and War, the Reasonableness of Disarmament on Christian, Humanitarian and Economic Grounds. A Peace Study Text-Book. By William E. Wilson, B.D. Lecture at Woodbrooke, Warden and Tutor of Kingsmead Hostel. With a Prefatory Letter by Dr. Rendel Harris, London: James Clarke & Co., 1913. 12mo. viii, 211 pp. One shilling.

This little book is an excellent presentation of the peace problem from the Christian point of view. The author, while fully recognizing the value of the economic arguments so ably set forth by Norman Angell, emphasizes the position that war is wrong.

The author says: "Though this book has been written by a member of the Society of Friends, at the request of members of that Society, and in part is an attempt to set forth their views in the matter, the author has endeavored to use only such argument as will appeal to all who sincerely wish to be guided by the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ."

Written for the use of Study Circles in as brief a manner as is possible with clear statement, the book lacks something in point of style, but we know of no book which gives so valuable a statement of the whole question in so short a compass.

At the end of each chapter suggestions for further reading are given, and a good bibliography and index conclude the work. It is a pleasure to commend the work to our readers.

A Quaker Warrior: The Life of William Hobson. By Wm. King Baker, London: Headley Brothers. [1913]. 12 mo., pp. 178. Price, 3 shillings 6 pence. For sale by Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th St., New York City. \$1.00 post paid.

This little volume is partly an autobiography. It is a brief account of the active revival work of a Friend widely known in England and to many American Friends. William Hobson was one of the earliest workers—the second, we believe—under the Home Mission Committee of London Yearly Meeting. He began his work at St. Ives, Huntingdonshire, in November, 1883. It was natural that many Friends should feel uneasiness at the methods used to forward the work, as they were new to the body of the Society. The zeal, earnestness and devotion of William Hobson are clearly brought out in the book. It was largely due to him that the Friends' Meeting at Cambridge, long closed, was reopened. There are two portraits and three interesting illustrations.

Ten Years Near the Arctic Circle. By J. J. Armistead. Author of "A Short History of Fish Culture," "An Angler's Paradise and How to Obtain It," "Piloted," etc., etc. London: Headley Brothers Bishopsgate, 1913. 12mo. pp. 252. 3 shillings 6 pence. For sale by New York Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th St., New York City. \$1.20 post paid.

This volume is a continuation of "Piloted," an earlier work by the same author. The author, an experienced yachtsman, became interested in the fishermen and inhabitants of the numerous islands off the west coast of Norway, north and south of the Arctic Circle. After visiting this region he bought a sloop thirty-five feet long and well adapted and fitted up for sea trips and named her "The Red Cross." In her, summer after summer, accompanied most of the time by his wife, daughter, and son and his wife, he cruised up and down these waters, visiting the

villages and settlements in that northern region extending spiritual and medical aid and furnishing food and supplies to the needy. He finally spent the winters there also. The expenses of this great undertaking have been borne by the missionary himself, supplemented by such aid as is sent by others interested in the work. He and his family "receive nothing in the way of salary." It is an exceedingly interesting account of mission work practically unknown to Americans. There are twelve admirable illustrations. It is to be regretted that a brief introduction should not have been supplied giving readers of this volume some idea of the starting of the work and of the history of the earlier days. To one who has not the opportunity of consulting "Piloted" it is like beginning with volume two of a continuous work.

The Quaker Bonnet—A Child-Story. By KKK., author of "The Living Remnant and other Quaker stories. London. Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, E.C. 12mo. pp. 265. Price, 3 shillings 6 pence. For sale by New York Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th St., New York City. \$1.25 post paid.

This book, by an author who writes under the pseudonym KKK., is one which will appeal to "grown-ups" rather than children. It is intended to represent life among the English Friends of about thirty years ago. The style sometimes gives the impression of "writing down" so as to be clear to children. The child heroine is the most successful picture, but that of the old dealer in dolls does not give the impression of reality, though it may be based upon a real character. The story is interesting. As a whole the book is not as successful as the collection of short stories by the same author, entitled "The Living Remnant and Other Quaker Stories."

NOTES AND QUERIES

HOLDER'S QUAKERS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.—We are informed that a second edition is in the press, in which the typographical errors noted in the last number of the BULLETIN, and in *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, will be corrected. We fear, however, unless large portions of the work have been re-written and other parts omitted, the book cannot be regarded as essentially improved, or as a *history of Friends*.

JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN.—Those who had the privilege of hearing Amelia M. Gummere's paper on John Woolman at the Annual Meeting of the Society noticed elsewhere in this number, will look with great expectations to the new edition of the Journal which she is editing from the original manuscripts. Every one who can, should subscribe to the volume, which is put at the low price of \$1.75. The editing, involving much work and great care, is a labor of love.

Subscriptions may be sent to Mary S. Allen, secretary, 24 West Street, Media, Pa.

DISCONTINUANCE OF THE BRITISH FRIEND.—With the number for Twelfth Month, 1913, the *British Friend* closed its long career. It was founded in 1843

by William and Robert Smeal, of Glasgow, and for the whole period of its long life the paper has occupied an independent position. Its editors have been men of decided views and sometimes of views not in accord with the great body of Friends, but great sincerity of purpose has always been a characteristic of the paper.

More liberal, in the past certainly, than its contemporary, *The Friend* (London), in admitting papers on various subjects, some scarcely connected with Friends, its contributors have often used even greater frankness of statement than Americans are wont to ascribe to our British cousins.

The file of the *British Friend* is one which no student of Quaker history can afford to neglect. Not only do its pages reflect and report the contemporaneous opinions, but the volumes contain many papers and documents relating to Friends which are of the highest value, some of which are scarcely accessible elsewhere. It is greatly to be regretted that so few complete sets are available for American students.

BRITISH FRIEND.—William and Robert Smeal, of Glasgow, in their prospectus, say that owing to the discontinuance of the *Irish Friend* at the close of 1842, there

seemed to be a need for a similar paper. Accordingly the *British Friend* was started First month 31, 1843. It is stated that the new paper would advocate the abolition of slavery and the slave trade; the protection of aborigines; improvement of the condition of their fellow subjects—natives of India; moral reform; peace societies, and the cause of temperance. Literary and scientific contributions, it is stated, would be welcome. The immediate repeal of the Corn Laws was also advocated. That this course was steadily pursued is shown by the files of the paper.

The paper, at first a quarto (1843-1845), was in 1845 changed to octavo, which size was retained until the close (1846-1913).

The editors were William and Robert Smeal 1843-1860, when William Smeal died, and his brother Robert continued as editor until his death in 1886. J. G. Smeal, a son, held the place until 1892, when the paper was sold to a group of Friends by whom the editorship was intrusted to William Edward Turner, of Birkenhead, to which place the paper was moved. In 1897 W. E. Turner removed to Colwyn Bay, North Wales, taking the paper with him. In 1901, on account of W. E. Turner's failing eyesight, Edward Grubb became assistant editor, and in Eighth month of the same year editor-in-chief, when the paper was moved to London, and in 1906 to Croydon,

where it remained until its discontinuance.

IRISH FRIEND.—This periodical is little known among American Friends. In character and form it closely resembled the *British Friend*, which was its successor. It was established by William Bell, of Belfast in 1838, who was, so far as we know, its only editor and publisher. Its home was Belfast, Ireland. William Bell removed to America in 1842 or 1843, and the paper was discontinued at the close of the year 1842. Like the *British Friend*, much of interest to students of Quaker history will be found in its volumes (1838-1842).

PRESENT-DAY PAPERS.—“*Le roi est mort, vive le roi!*”. With the discontinuance of the *British Friend*, noticed above, there appeared, First month 1, 1914, a new periodical with the title “*Present-Day Papers, a Monthly Journal for the Presentation of Vital and Spiritual Christianity*.” Rufus M. Jones, M.A., Litt.D., editor-in-chief; Henry J. Cadbury, M.A., business manager, Haverford, Pa.” Though this new monthly does not outwardly present the appearance of a Friends' periodical, it is certainly *Friendly* in its editor, manager, and its editorial board, of which a majority are Friends. The point of view of the contributions, so far, is also *Friendly*, or at least sympathetic.

The new journal is not intended “to be a controversial periodical,”

but "to be [a] restrained, steady, constructive and edifying" one. Its field is to be wider than the Society of Friends, and consequently what is known as "Society news" will find no place on its pages. It therefore does not come into competition with any strictly Friends' periodical.

The journal is intended to meet a felt need, and, while it has hardly yet in the four numbers which have appeared (January-April, 1914) fully found itself, the outlook is full of promise. (Subscription is placed at \$1.50, or 6s. 6d., postpaid, per annum. Address, Present-Day Papers, Haverford, Pennsylvania.)

TIME OF HOLDING PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING.—After remaining unaltered for 117 years, the time of holding Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was changed, by the Yearly Meeting of 1914, from the third Second day in the Fourth month to the last Second day in the Third month.

The old Ms. Discipline of 1762 gives the following information regarding changes: "It appears by the records that the first Yearly Meeting was held at Burlington in the house of Thomas Gardiner the 31st day of the 6th month [8th mo. New Style] 1681." In 1685, "It was unanimously agreed and concluded by the Meeting that there be but one Yearly Meeting in Pennsylvania and West Jersey, one year at Burlington and another at Philadelphia and to be held the next year at Burlington on

the first First day of the 7th month [9th month New Style] for Worship and the Fourth day to be for the Men's and Women's Meetings. The next year after to be at Philadelphia, on the same day of the same month, and to continue the same time. This agreement to continue until further orders."

The next Minute regarding the Yearly Meeting is in 1712, and is as follows: "As to the proposal for an alteration of the Yearly Meeting of Business to Philadelphia, to be there held every year, This Meeting concludes it's best for divers Considerations to remain as it is at present established. But this Meeting being of Opinion, that a Yearly Meeting for Worship, to be held at Philadelphia annually, may be of Service, Therefore appoints that a Meeting shall be held at Philadelphia on the second First day of the week in the next third month [5th month New Style] and hold two days for Worship, and so to be continued annually on the same day." In 1713, "The time fixed upon for the Spring Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, was altered to the third first day of the week in the third Month [5th month New Style].

"1755. Agreed to continue to hold our Yearly Meeting on the third first day of the Week, in the ninth Month [New Style], and that the General Meeting in the Spring be held on the fourth first day of the Week in the third month and that the Yearly Meet-

ing at Salem hereafter be held on the third first day of the week, in the fifth month."

"1758. Agreed to hold the Yearly Meeting on the fourth first day of the week in the ninth Month."

"1760. The consideration of the properest place for holding our Yearly Meetings for Business in future, now coming under the solid Notice and thought of this Meeting, and much time being spent thereon, and full opportunity being given for a free Communication of Friends' sentiments, and the calming Influences of Gospel Love being over us, It appears to be the most general Sense, that Philadelphia as it is the nearest Central for the Body of the Society, it is therefore the most convenient for that Purpose."

In 1798 the time of holding the Yearly Meeting was changed to the third Second day in the Fourth month, which remained the date until the change made in 1914, to take effect in 1915.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The number of our esteemed contemporary for Fourth month, 1914, comes to hand just as the BULLETIN is going to the press. Among the most interesting papers are those on "Benjamin Furly," and "Benjamin Furly and His Library." So little is available concerning this friend of George Fox, William Penn and John Stubbs, that these papers are valuable. Benjamin Furly was also the friend and correspondent of the philosopher John Locke, of Algernon Sidney, Lord Shaftesbury and others. He collected a very large library, for a private one. The greater part of his collection was religious and theological. Curiously enough a list of his books and the prices they brought at auction after his death has been preserved, and is now in the British Museum. The sale was "from the 22d to the 27th of October, 1714;" and the number of lots was 4,430, and the total amount realized was £7,-638. 19. 0. One of the lots was Jacob Behmen's Works, in twelve volumes, which brought £15. 15. 0.

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Haverford, Pa.
All dues and subscriptions should be paid to Mary S. Allen, Secretary-Treasurer, 24 West Street, Media, Pa.
Subscriptions, \$1.00 per annum. All members receive the BULLETIN free.

A LETTER OF JOSIAH COALE, 1658.

[The following letter is descriptive of one of the earliest and most remarkable experiences of Friends with the American aborigines. In view of the late work of Friends for the Indians, it is interesting to note that, in the earlier days, it was the Indians who extended the hand of help to the needy and oppressed "publishers of Truth." The addressee of this letter made telling use of its contents in his "New England Judged" (pp. 28, 29, ed. 1702-3), and Bowden printed part of the letter with some changes and omissions (History of Friends in America, 1: 123). The original letter is preserved in Devonshire House, London, and the following copy, *verbatim et literatim*, has been furnished through courtesy of Norman Penney, Librarian.—RAYNER W. KELSEY.]

JOSIAH COALE TO GEORGE BISHOP, 2, vi, 1658.

when wee went from verginia 2^d. 6th Month 1658 after about 100 miles trauell by Land & Water we Came amongst the Susquehane's Jndians, who courtiously Recieued vs and Entertayned vs in theyr houses (Hutts) with much Respect, and from that place (after two or three dayes being ther with Diet free) Seuerall of them accompanied vs, abut 200 miles farther through y^e wildernes or woods, for ther was noe Jnhabitant in soe farr together, Neyther knew wee any part of the way through that desert, Through which y^e Lord had Required vs to trauell, and for outward sustinance wee knew not how to suply our selues. But without questioning or douting, wee gaue vp freely to y^e Lord, knowing asuredly that his p^esents, was (and should bee Continued) with vs, and acording to our faith soe it was; for his presents, and Loue, wee found with vs dayly Carying of us on in his strength, and alsoe opened the harts of thos poore Jndians, soe that in all times of need they were made helpfull to us Both to Cary vs through Riuers of water and alsoe to suply vs with food sutfient, (though they made A hard shift for it) when ther was nessesity, in soe much that wee had noe want of any thing they Could gett for vs; soe after this 300 Miles trauell, wee cam to A place wher more of them Jnhabited, and they alsoe,

(acording as the first) very kindly entertayned vs in their houses; where wee Remayned about 16 days By Reason my felow trauell was weake of Bodye through sicknes and Lamenes; in which time thes Jndians shewed very much Respect to vs, for they gaue vs freely of the Best they could gett

and alsoe (Like the samarita[n] who Bound vp the mans wounds that fell amongst theeues, though the preest and Levite pased by him) bound vp the wouds of my felow traueler which Caused his Lamnes, and Being somthing Recouered after this stay, wee pased on towards the dutch plantation, to which place one of them accompanied vs, w^{ch} was About 100 miles further and when wee Cam amongst the dutch they presently put vs in prison, and Kept ther som howers tell towards Euening, and then Cam with souldiers, and Caried my frend who was not well, and pulled mee along to A Boate, and Banished vs ouer to A serten Jsland, wher dwelt som few families of y^e dutch, But they Gaue them Command not to Carie vs of the Island Neyther to Entertayn vs, soe wee Remayned on that Jsland som few days, and Being neare the water side, wee found som Indians pasin on y^e water in A Boat, and wee Lett them know our Condition, and alsoe desired them to Carie vs ouer to Long Island, which they did, though at the first they were vnwili[ng] By Reson the dutch had Jsenced them agaynst vs, thes dutch sayd, they marueled how wee Cam through amongst them, for Jf they should goe but a Litle way from theyr plantations, the Jndians would kill them. But the Lord was with vs, and wee found more fauor and Christian Like Carage amongst them, who Releued vs in our nessesity, then wee did amongst y^e dutch (Caled Christians) who Banished vs, and denied to Lett vs haue one nights Lodging in theyr town; for our mony, or to pas through theyr town; soe when wee Came vpon Long Jsland after A Litle trauell wee found som frends, in truth By whom wee were much Refreshed, then J parted with my Companion hee Being not of Ability in Body to trauell on soe fast as J Lay vpon mee to goe; and after about 150 miles trauell on that Jsland, J crosed ouer by water to the mayn Land; wher J Came among the Jndians

agayn, who was always very Cairtious to direct mee the way, and to suply me with any thing J needed, and after about 50 miles trauell J Came to Road Jsland. And after som stay there J was moued to goe to A serten Jsland (in New Jngland) Caled Martens vinyard to visit som Jndians ther, amongst whom J had felt desires to know the Lord, and J had A meeting amongst them, and they were very Louing to mee, and tould mee they much desired to know god, and afterwards at Another place Neare plimouth Coleney J was amongst the Jndians, amongst whom was true Breathings after y^e knowledg of god, who sayd to mee it was An ould word amongst y^e English to talke of god, but sayd hee wee Can neuer see him yeat, and after the Jnglish had prisoned mee att plymouth, and sett mee att Liberty agayne, J Cam to y^e Jndian Sagamores hous (nere Plimmouth Colony) (which is theyr king) who sayd that the English men did not Loue quakers, but sayd quakers are honest men and doe noe harme, and this is noe English mans sea nor Land, and quakers shall Com here and welcom Soe through y^e goodnes of the Lord wee found them more sober and Christian Like in theyr Carage towards vs at all ocations, then wee found the Christians, soe called.

This J haue giuen thee an account of the Lords Caring of us on through that Journy, and the fauer and Loue that wee found amongst thos people I doe Confes, and declare it to Bee the Lords hand of Loue towards vs, soe that thou may put in what words thou sees Convenient or finds freedom to doe, as to y^e acknowledging of the same so fare as may tend to his prays. J am thy frend in truth

Josiah Coale

[The following is in another hand (that possibly of Thomas Dockray's), as also are certain interlineations in the MS.]

Whilst T. Thirston was sick the Indians would goe forth some houres into the Woods to seek for Wild Turkeyes to make broth for him, w^{ch} they make of their Cerne dried & beate to dust.

Wet night & day 10 dayes together

When they were within 50 Miles of the Manados T. Thirston was soe sick y^t hee could not pass any further, whereupon they were Constraynd to abide ther six dayes, dureing w^{ch} time An Indian (because ther were noe Indians were Jnhabiting in y^t Country went (wth T. Chapman) to the Manodus & brought from thence Sack, bread & butter wth other provisians w^{ch} they brought to him

[Endorsement] Thomas Thurston, Josiah Cole & Thomas Chapman Passage from Virginea to New England through the Indians wher neuer before any were knowne to goe.

Thes ffor Georg Bishopp

to Bee d d d

MS. in Devonshire House. A. R. B. 13

A BRIEF NOTICE OF JOSIAH COALE (1633-1668).

Josiah Coale (or Cole) was born in 1633. He belonged to a "highly respectable family," and resided at Winterbourne, near Bristol, England. Like many others of the young men who formed the band of the "First Publishers of Truth," he was a serious, thoughtful youth. He was "convinced" by the preaching of John Audland and John Camm, and in his twenty-second or twenty-third year began to preach, and for about twelve years was a powerful and effective "publisher of the Truth." He traveled extensively, visiting America, Barbados and other islands, and Holland. He also traveled in Great Britain. His American journey was made when he was twenty-five! "He preached the Gospel freely, going a warfare at his own charge."

He underwent his full share of persecution and imprisonment, and, at the early age of thirty-five, died of illness, probably the result of his strenuous life. A collection of his works, consisting of epistles, controversial tracts and a few others, was published in 1671. As was customary in those days, the collection was preceded by several testimonies to his worth. These

were by George Fox, Margaret (Fell) Fox, William Penn, George Whitehead and Alexander Parker. That by Margaret Fox is in verse! A short notice of him will be found in "Piety Promoted," Vol. 1; see also Bowden, "History of Friends in America," Vol. 1, pp. 122-125, 362-365; and the lively personal recollections of William Sewel in his "History of the Quakers" (see Index to that work). The references to him in Rufus M. Jones's "The Quakers in the American Colonies" are full and interesting. (See Index.)

A SHORT GENEALOGY OF EDWARD FOULKE (1651-1741).

[The following account is taken from a manuscript entitled, "Some Account of the Life, Travels, and Experiences of Joseph Foulke [1786-1863], together with remarks, observations and historical sketches of the Religious Society of Friends subsequent to the time John Gough concludes their history, and more particularly an account of the first settlement of Gwynedd Meeting of Friends to which the writer belonged." ¹—EDITOR.]

The following document found among the memorandums of Edward Foulke, the elder [1651-1741], and translated into English by his grandson, Samuel Foulke, is so rare of its kind, that it may not be amiss to give it a place in this work. It is as follows:

"A brief genealogy of Edward Foulke, with an account of his family, and their removal from Great Britain to Pennsylvania, written by himself originally in British" [*i.e.*, Welsh.]

"I, Edward Foulke, was the son of Foulke Thomas, the son of Evan, the son of Thomas, the son of Robert, the son of David Lloyd, the son of David, the son of Evan of Jerworth, the son of Madock, the son of Rivid-blaid of the Poole, who

¹ A typewritten copy is in the Library of Haverford College. This extract was printed in Comly's "Friends' Miscellany," Vol. 3, p. 369, 1833.

was Lord of Penllyn, one of the northern divisions of Wales. My mother's name was Lowry, the daughter of Edward, the son of David, the son of Ellis, the son of Robert, of the Parish of Llanvor in Merionethshire.

"I was born on the 13th day of the 5th month Anno Domini 1651, and when arrived to mature age, I married Eleanor, the daughter of Hugh, the son of Cadwallader, the son of Rees of the Parish of Spyter in Denbyshire. Her mother's name was Ewen, the daughter of Ellis, the son of William, the son of Hugh, the son of Thomas, the son of David, the son of Madock, the son of Evan, the son of Cott, the son of Evan, the son of Griffith, the son of Madock, the son of Enion, the son of Meredith of Cawvadock; and was born in the same parish and shire as her husband.

"I had by my said wife, nine children; to wit, four sons and five daughters;—whose names were as follows; viz.: Thomas, Hugh, Cadwallader, and Evan; Gwen, Grace, Jane, Catharine, and Margaret. We lived at a place called Coodyfoel, a farm belonging to Roger Prince, Esqr. of Rhewlass in Merionethshire aforesaid. But in process of time, I had an inclination to remove thence with my family to the Province of Pennsylvania, and in order thereto we set out on the 3rd day of the 2nd month [April] Annoque Domini 1698, and came in two days to Liverpool, where with divers others who intended to go the voyage, we took shipping the 17th of the same month on board the *Robert and Elizabeth*; and the next day set sail for Ireland, where we arrived and staid until the 1st of the 3rd month [May], and thence sailed again for Pennsylvania, and were about eleven weeks at sea; and the sore distemper of the bloody Flux broke out in the vessel, of which died five and forty persons in our passage. The distemper was so mortal, that two or three corpse were cast over every day while it lasted. But through the *favour and mercy of divine providence* I, with my wife and nine children, escaped that sore mortality, and arrived safe at Philadelphia, about the 17th of 5th month [July], where we were kindly received and entertained by our Friends and old acquaintance until I purchased a tract of about seven hundred acres of land about sixteen miles from Philadelphia, on a part of which I

settled. And divers others of our company who came over sea together, settled near me about the same time, which was the beginning of November, 1698 aforesaid, and the township was named Gwynedd or Northwales. This account was written the 14th of 11th month [January] 1702 by Edward Foulke."

A LONELY GRAVEYARD AND THE EARLY FRIENDS IN WESTERN CORNWALL.

The writer had the privilege, this past summer (1914), of visiting Land's End, Cornwall. The trip was made from Penzance in a Great Western Railway motor-bus. Having "booked" our seats in advance, we were assigned front seats which gave uninterrupted views of that strangely interesting part of Great Britain. On leaving Penzance, the road at first led through hedges of laurel, high bushes, almost trees, of fuchsias, through palms and other semi-tropical flora. Then, after climbing some long, and other rapidly rising ascents, we came upon the high moorland almost bare of trees, its general aspect, together with flocks of sheep, reminding us of the fells and moors of Yorkshire and Westmorland.

When about two and a half miles from Land's End, where a road branches off to the north to go to the village of St. Just, in the angle caused by the branch road, we saw a small well-walled enclosure evidently a graveyard, a strange place to meet with one. The car was going slowly enough for us to be able to read, much to our surprise, on a slate tablet, let into the wall, this inscription clearly cut:

FRIENDS' BURIAL GROUND
Brea

In which 136¹ Interments took
Place between the years
1659-1789

¹ This is what the number appeared to be; different figures are given in the accounts.

There was neither gate nor gateway, nor could any grave-stones be seen on the greensward within. Everything, however, was in excellent order. Lack of time and wet weather prevented a very close inspection. This little burial ground on the bleak moor, standing solitary by the roadside, apart from any building, made a deep impression, and led to some investigations, the results of which are here given. The enclosure is fifty-four feet long by forty-six broad. Though there is now no means of access to the interior except by jutting-out pieces of stone let into the wall inside and outside, forming a kind of stile common in districts where stone walls abound, the place of the old gateway is easily seen, as the upright stones which formed it have been left *in situ*, the opening between them having been walled up.

There is in one corner, one gravestone of granite, a flat slab, five feet seven inches long by two feet one inch wide and one foot one inch thick. It rests on rough pieces of granite. The inscription, in large letters, is as follows:

ELLIS -	HEARE - IS - BVRIED - THAT - VIRTVO	WOMAN - PHILLIP - THE - WIFE - OF - JOHN -
	WHO - DEPARTED - THIS - LIFE	
	THE - XX - DAY - OF - THE - X -	
	MONTH - OF - 1677 -	

(See Note 2)

² This inscription is a good example of the need of looking for omissions and additions, and other errors, in so-called "exact" copies and the like. The writer, unfortunately, has had to trust to these. He has had access to five "accurate" copies. No two of these are precisely alike, but differ either in omissions or additions; only one gives the arrangement of the words as above, which is evidently correct. As the name Philippa is given without the final *a* by the two most careful transcribers, it is doubtless right to omit it.

On a clear day the outlook from this little enclosure must be very fine. Cloudy, and slightly misty as it was, the hills of Card-id-Zack, or the "Hooting Cairn," and Chapel Carnbrea, where John Wesley is said to have preached to thousands of miners, were seen gray and gloomy; in the distance, to the left, was the old square tower of Buryan Church and its surrounding village, with its low stone houses, while towards the southwest was the village of Sennen, also with its square-towered parish church and its whitewashed stone houses, the last village in England before Land's End is reached. Beyond these towers and villages was the sea itself, stretching away without interruption to the American shores.

The lot was doubtless the gift of John Ellis, whose wife reposes in it. If a deed for the lot was ever executed, it was lost, and, in course of time, the place was somewhat neglected, the walls became dilapidated, and it was said that the lord of the manor had intentions of claiming it. To anticipate such a purpose, Friends repaired the walls, closed up the entrance, and put the ground in good order.

This lonely graveyard in such a bleak country in the very westernmost angle of Great Britain, is a silent, unimpeachable witness to the extent and thoroughness of the missionary labors of the early Friends. It tells us that before 1659 Friends had penetrated that remote spot, and as early as 1659 had gathered enough adherents to warrant a special resting-place for their dead.

Cornwall has always held a unique place in English history. Far removed from the rest of Britain, its inhabitants had customs and a language of their own.³ Difficulty of access made them independent and free from many restraints which were common in other parts of the island. A mining country from perhaps prehistoric times, and a seafaring one on account of its geographical position, its inhabitants, divided for the most part be-

³ Cornish was a dialect of the Cymric or British branch of the Celtic. It is said that the last man who could speak Cornish died in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

tween those who worked underground and those who were "toilers of the sea," were ruder and rougher than most. There were also, it is said, strains of foreign blood in the people—Spaniards who had been wrecked on the rocky shores, or others from abroad, who had settled there. Certainly such names as José, Oliver, Cortes, Bosisto and other similar ones, all found in the district, indicate the probability of foreign blood.

The seventeenth century was before the days of well-lighted coasts, and the rocky shores and the frequent fogs and storms were the cause of many wrecks, and one of the most profitable callings was that of wrecker. "In stormy weather, these men, mostly miners, would range along the cliffs, following a disabled craft until she went ashore, and then stripping the wreck of every moveable article. . . . Ships were decoyed by false lights to their destruction; even the shipwrecked sailor was sometimes done to death for his personal property, or perhaps to prevent detection."⁴

Into such a country and among such people, the early Friends carried their message of peace, justice, love and spiritual religion.

It was towards the end of 1655 that George Fox and two companions, Captain Edward Pyott, of Bristol, and William Salt, of London, set out on what proved a memorable journey; for while on this mission, Fox endured his worst, that is, most suffering, term of imprisonment—that in the horrible chamber, Doomsdale, in Launceston⁵ Castle, Launceston, Cornwall. But this story must be left untouched.

The quaint account of the advent of Quakerism into Cornwall is thus described in "First Publishers of Truth":⁶ "The first yt came into ye County was our antient & faithfull friend

⁴ Modern stories of the dangers of the Cornish coasts from storms and wreckers will be found, told in graphic style, in S. Baring-Gould's *Vicar of Morwenstow* (R. S. Hawker), chapter V. (American Ed., New York, 1880.) See also R. S. Hawker, "Footprints of Former Men in Far Cornwall," 1870.

⁵ The local pronunciation of this name is *Launson*.

⁶ "First Publishers of Truth," p. 20.

George Fox (whose Labours are already Published), Being accompanied with Edward Pyott, of Bristoll, and William Salt of London, and their manner was to Enquire for the honest and well inclined and those yt were of good Report whose Desires were to fear god." The account goes on to name several who received them very thankfully; then the three "Publishers" went to Austle [St. Austell] and to Truro, at both places finding sympathizers. "And from thence To Land's End, where They were Received by John Ellis, & in yt part of ye country they were Taken vp and Brought before Peter Ceely, Justice, who Comited ym all to Launceston Goal."⁷

The visit of Fox and his companions was not allowed to remain unfollowed up, for there "Came down our friends Alexander Parker and George Buly [Bewley] whose Labours was much in ys Country in Vissitting those familys (who had Received George Fox and his Companions) and in setling meettings amongst them."⁸ There was a Monthly Meeting "appointed at Thomas Mounce's house on a first day of ye weeke, ye Report of whch Sounded farr abroad, so that many well inclin'd People from Divers parts Resorted thereat." Many traveling Friends

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21. "Alexander Parker (1628-1688-9) lived in the Bowland district on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire." His parents were well-to-do. He frequently travelled with George Fox, and occupied an important position among the early Friends. He was not a voluminous writer. In A. R. Barclay's "Letters of the Early Friends," fourteen of his Letters are given; of these eight are to Margaret Fell and four to George Fox. He was a close friend of Josiah Coale, and wrote a Testimony concerning him, referred to elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN. See the full notice of him by Charlotte Fell Smith in the Dictionary of National Biography. George Bewley was probably the son of Thomas Bewley, of Haltcliffe Hall, Coldbeck, Cumberland. He is called in "First Publishers of Truth" (p. 85), "a sufficient man's son." Not much is known concerning him, except that he was a faithful proclaimer of the Truth. He suffered much persecution. He was imprisoned in Dorset (1657), and "for eight years in Cumberland at the suit of the priest of Coldbeck."

visited this remote place, among them Thomas Curtis,⁹ of whom it is recorded, "whose Labour was much amongst us Encouraging friends To faithfulness. By this time we were Pretty many gather'd in this place to sit down in Silence and waite upon ye lord, and we had many good & Comfortable seasons and meettings att this time, where we felt ye alone Teacher nigh us administring to our spiritual wants, By whome we were Enabled Both to wait and To suffer for his Blessed Truth and Name Sake."¹⁰ Other Friends who visited these parts were Miles Bateman, John Breathwaite [Braithwaite?], William Dewsbury, James Myers, Thomas Salthouse,¹¹ Joseph Coale, Richard Gamble, and in 1668-9 Margaret Fell, who writes, "In that time I went down into Cornwall with my son and daughter Lower."

What the report from Falmouth says was doubtless true of the whole region: "Thus matters were with us in the beginning of our gathering, but the Lord sent sundry of his messengers for the watering & refreshing of us frequently, and stirred up some amongst our Selves, whom he qualefyed for his service, Particularly our ancient friend, Nicolas Jose, who Lived near Landsend, a man true to his Testimony, faithfull in sufferings in which he was much exercised, & had a word in season; he finished his Course in the peace of the Gosple in a good, old age, & deceased at his owne house, and was buryed and [at] friends place of buryall near Landsend, the 16th day of the 11 mo, 1694."¹² [January, 1695.]

⁹ Thomas Curtis, of Reading, a woolen draper, had been a Captain in Cromwell's army. He travelled much, suffered much, and was imprisoned several times. He joined the Separatists under Wilkinson and Story in 1677, and was no longer recognized by Friends. See Journ. Friends' Histor. Soc., i: 57.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 22.

¹¹ "Thomas Salthouse, of Lancashire, married a wife in this County of Cornwall, & settled in Austle [St. Austell], visited meetings through Cornwall & Devon and often to Bristol & London, & suffered imprisonment for his testimony against swearing, about the year 1684." F. P. T., p. 28.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 28. W. Armistead, "Select Miscellanies," iv: 250-255.

The account by George Fox of his experiences in Cornwall is one of the most graphic pictures in his Journal. He calls Cornwall "a dark country" (Short Journal). The method followed in his mission has already been described. Set free from Launceston Castle in 1656, Fox at once began a short preaching tour in Cornwall, "and great convincement there was in many places of ye county." Fox visited Cornwall again in 1659, of which he writes, "And so up into Cornwall visiting all the meetings of Friends among whom we had many blessed meetings till we came to the Land's End. And through all that County Thomas Lower accompanied me, and brought me over Horse-bridge into Devonshire again."¹³

"At Land's End in Cornwall," Fox says, "there was an honest man, a fisher man, that became a faithful minister, which I told Friends he was like Peter."¹⁴

In the first edition of Fox's Journal (1694), and in all subsequent editions till the Cambridge edition printed from the manuscript copy, following the sentence just quoted, is an account of the great exercise of George Fox on the subject of wrecking, and also the copy of "a paper [he] was moved to write" and "send it to all the parishes, priests and magistrates, to reprove them for such greedy actions, and to warn and exhort them that, if they could assist to save people's lives, and preserve their ships and goods, they should use their diligence therein; and consider, if it had been their own condition, they would judge it hard, if they should be upon a wreck, and people should try to get what they could from them, and not regard their lives."

¹³ Camb. Journal, 1: 347. Spelling modernized. Thomas Lower married Mary Fell, daughter of Judge and Margaret Fell, 1668. He was a Cornish man himself of an aristocratic family. He was a frequent companion of George Fox, and the narrative parts of the manuscript Journal are in his handwriting. He died in 1720, aged 87.

¹⁴ "This was the Nicolas José (d. 1694), of Sennen, Land's End, mentioned above. He was of Spanish extraction. . . . Through the marriage of his daughter Honor with John Tregelles in 1676 he became the ancestor of several families of Friends. See also Armistead's *Select Miscellanies*, Vol. IV, pp. 250-255.

The paper is written in strong, emphatic language, and the argument, *ad hominem*, is unsparingly used. Fox's description is much like that used by the Vicar of Morwenstow, nearly two hundred years later, and cannot be overdrawn: "While I was in Cornwall," he says, "there were great shipwrecks, about the Land's End. Now it was the custom of that country, that at such a time both rich and poor went out, to get as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to save the people's lives, and in some places they call shipwrecks, God's grace. These things troubled me; it grieved my spirit to hear of such unchristian actions, considering how far they were below the heathen at Melita, who received Paul made him a fire, and were courteous towards him, and them that suffered Shipwreck with him." He does not mince matters in the paper, which was the outcome of this "exercise of spirit." "Be not like a company of greedy dogs, and worse than heathens, as if ye had never heard of God, nor Christ, nor the Scriptures, nor pure religion."

Fox says, "This paper had good service among the people, and Friends have endeavoured much to save the lives of the crews in times of wrecks, and to preserve the ships and goods for them. And when some that have suffered shipwreck have been almost dead and starved, Friends have taken them to their houses to succor and recover them; which is an act to be practised by all true christians."¹⁵

But such customs, which have the force begotten of long usage, die hard, and as records show, and as the Vicar of Morwenstow tells us, wreckers plied their calling late into the nineteenth century. The temptation to join in wrecking expeditions was doubtless very great, for we find in the Meeting records not a few minutes warning Friends to be careful "not to be in any way concerned therein." Sometimes there are disownments for the offence; one "testimony" reads: "We have an account that Richard Tredrea was to a wrack, which we believe it is unlawful, and now appoint James Hosken and Robert James to speak to him about it." This committee brought in a report which gave

¹⁵ Fox's Journal, Bi-Cent. Ed., 1901, i: 458-461.

rise to another minute, finding that "Richard Tredrea was joined with them that was to the wrack at Juste [St. Just], we doe feel it our duty to leave others know that 'tis against our principles." Thomas Ellis and James Hosken are requested "to drawe a testimony against him." Smuggling, also, was a crime, which was common, and Friends were called upon to deal with offenders in this respect.

Fox visited Cornwall again in 1663, when "all was quiet." "Tho[mas] Lower rid with us through Cornwall from meeting to meeting. . . . We past to the Land's End to John Ellis his house where we had a precious meeting, and there was a fisher man (one Nicolas Jose) that was convinced, that spoke in meetings and declared the truth amongst the people; and the Lord's power was over all. And I was glad that the Lord had raised up his standard in those darke parts of the nation, where there is a fine meeting of honest hearted friends to this day and many are come to set under Christ's teachings, and a great people the Lord will have in that country."¹⁶

Fox's last visit was made in 1668, where he says, "We settled the monthly meetings in the Lord's power and the order of the Gospel . . . so that the house of God might be kept clean and righteousness might run down and sweep away all unrighteousness"¹⁷

These quotations and references will give a fair idea of the means by which Truth was "published" and men were "convinced," in the western part of Cornwall. Notwithstanding George Fox's hopeful words quoted above, Friends never flourished in Cornwall as they did elsewhere. The characteristics of the inhabitants do not lead them to quietism, but rather to outward expression, and so, since the days of John Wesley, Cornwall has been a stronghold of Wesleyanism. Even before the

¹⁶ Cambridge Journal, 2: 27, 28. Spelling modernized.

¹⁷ Cambridge Journal, 2: 123, spelling modernized. A brief paper by Dr. R. Hingston Fox, entitled "Women's Meetings in Cornwall in the Early Days of the Society," will be found in *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, First Month, 1914 (Vol. XI, pp. 32-34). Several extracts are given from the Minute Book of the Quarterly Meeting, 1688-1734.

beginning of the eighteenth century, Quakerism was losing ground—up to that time it had been upheld mainly by the strength and earnestness of a few, notably Nicolas José, John Ellis, of Sennen, afterwards of St. Just; Thomas Lower, son-in-law of Margaret Fell, and a few others. Nicolas José has already been spoken of. John Ellis (died in 1703) was a well-to-do yeoman, and was one of the earliest converts in Cornwall. He was firm in his attachment to Friends, and was, perhaps, the greatest pillar of the church in West Cornwall. Like so many thoughtful men at that time, he was dissatisfied with his spiritual condition, and when the Quaker message came to him, he received it with joy. Like his fellow Friends, he underwent much persecution, and he also was imprisoned in Doomsdale, Launceston Castle. Soon after his conviction, he was appointed "way-warden," he says, "out of envy," for he would be required to take an oath for the faithful performance of his duties. Meanwhile, Ellis made use of his authority and took down two old crosses as popish relics. This naturally was very unpopular; one man said his oxen were not able to draw the larger one; another that it was a mark at sea; another that it was a land mark; and a fourth declaring in Cornish that it was a holy cross, and if it was good before, it was good then. Having heard that a warrant was out against him, Ellis went to Marazion to see about it. When he returned, he found that while he was gone his neighbors had carried back the cross to its former place, where, he goes on to say, "it is likely it doth remain to this day." It did, indeed, for it was still there in 1914, an object of great interest to archæologists, for it is evidently of Celtic origin; another rude cross stands by the roadside near Brea Burial Ground. John Ellis, refusing to take the oath, was imprisoned, as above. His hearing before Major Ceely, the same magistrate who had treated Fox so badly, was as unfairly carried out. He was in prison for this offence twenty weeks. He was several times fined and imprisoned.¹⁸ Great meetings were held at his

¹⁸ John Ellis and Nicolas José were both liberated from Launceston Jail under the "General Pardon of 1672, act of May, 1672." "State Papers Relating to Friends, 1654-1672," London, 1913, pp. 342-347.

Of the imprisonment in 1656 the following order was issued: "1656-

house at Sennen. He was well off, owning considerable land outside of Cornwall, as well as in it. He gave Friends a lot for a meeting-house at Market Jew or Marazion near Penzance, and also at Penzance. He was twice married, first to Phillippa _____ (?), who died in 1677, and was buried in the Brea graveyard, and whose grave-stone, already described, still remains. He removed to St. Just, and died in 1703. His funeral on the 28th of Sixth month (August) was attended by a large company, among whom were "some of the great ones, three who had been in the commission of the peace." Thomas Gwin, of Falmouth, was present and spoke. "All were pretty sober and attentive, some greatly satisfied, and seemed to give God the glory of that day's mercy."

The deaths of Ellis and José removed the two pillars of the church, and the membership began to fall off. In 1817, Sennen Meeting was closed. In 1845 there were eleven meetings. At present there are only about one hundred members in all Cornwall. The meetings remaining are Falmouth, Redruth, and St. Austell, and there are "closed meeting-houses" at Marazion and Truro, which are occasionally made use of.

Before concluding, it may be interesting to mention one of the Cornish Friends, Pentecost Teague by name, who received a minute from his Monthly Meeting at Marazion, commending him to the care of Friends in Pennsylvania. He went to America in First month, 1694. How long he remained there is not known, but a minute of Marazion Meeting, in 1704, records his return; but in 1706 he went back to Pennsylvania.¹⁹

7, Feb. 3. Whereas at Launceston Assizes 9th August 1656, John Ellis, James Godfrey, James Myer, & Joseph Cole were indicted & fined, it is ordered that the Clerk of Assize Western Circuite do forbear to entrete any of the said fynes, seuerally sett on any or either of these aforesaid until he receive further order from His Highness or the Councell in this behalfe.

Approved by the Protector 7 February" [1693-4]. "Extracts from State Papers," etc., p. 6.

¹⁹ The following is given in A. C. Myers' "Quaker Arrivals in America, 1682-1750," Philadelphia, 1902, p. 17: "Penticost Teag and wife, 'he being Capable of ye Trade or Occupation of ffishing,' from Mo. Mtg. at

Much more could be written of the Friends in Cornwall, but this paper will suffice to show how rich is the field for research.²⁰

CERTIFICATE FOR MARY SMITH, 1686.

Thes

are for ye satisfaction of all friends in Pensilvania New Jarsie or else wher

Thes are to certifie you that our friend Mary Smith of this Island Barmoodas who is now Intended to remove from home. She is a maiden well reputed among friends, an entertainer of strangers & travilling friends in the Day of her prosperity, the Daughter of an Antient friend & as concerning Marriage free from all men in this Island so farr as we know, or ever heard of as is witnessed, by friends of our meeting whos names are underwritten.

Barmoodas ye 11 day of ye 5th month [July] 1686.

Francis Estlack	Frances Harriot
William Harriot	Elizabeth Wetherbe
Will Smith	Sarah Righton
Richard Laycroft	Margaret Estlack
Wm Wilkinson	Ruth Seymor
Stephen Bullock	Bethula Lacroft
Will Rigton	Sarah Muzzell
	Mary Wilkinson

Marazion in Cornwall, England dated 1 mo. 5. 1693-4; also endorsed at Fallmouth, 1 mo 7, 1693-4. Received 5 mo. 27, 1694."

²⁰ In the preparation of this paper, in addition to personal notes and recollections, use has been made of the publication known as "First Publishers of Truth," London, 1907; Journal of George Fox, Cambridge edition, with the valuable Notes by Norman Penney, London, 1911; Journal of George Fox, Bicent. edition, London, 1901; Besse's "Sufferings of the Quakers," folio ed., London, 1753; W. C. Braithwaite, "Beginnings of Quakerism," London, 1912; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1871, 1897; *The Friend* (London), Vol. V, p. 61-63, 1847; *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, various notes and papers, Vols. I-XI, 1903-1914; *English Illustrated Magazine*, November, 1911; Sewel's History of the Quakers, folio ed., London, 1725. "Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, 1654-1672, London, 1913. W. Armistead, *Select Miscellanies*, York, 1851, 6 vols.; and other works.

NOTE ON FRIENDS IN BERMUDA.

Little is to be found in the Quaker histories concerning Friends in the Bermudas; even Besse in his "Sufferings" only gives two pages to the "Bermudas" (Vol. II, 367-369). He says, under date of 1660, "William Sale being Governor two of the people called Quakers came to that island, and by their preaching several of the inhabitants convinced of the Truth they bore testimony to, began to separate from the usual way of worship and form religious assemblies among themselves." These two Friends were Richard Pinder, of Ravenstonedale, near Sedberg, Yorkshire, and George Rofe, of Halstead, Essex. Richard Pinder (died 1695) was "convinced" in 1652, and "about the year 1657 was called into the work of the ministry, and labored much in many countries, as Scotland, England, and two several times in America, as particularly Barbadoes, Bermudas, New England, Jamaica and several other plantations, where he had a considerable service." He was not a voluminous writer, and his writings chiefly relate to the West Indies. One of these, "The Captive (that hath long been in captivity) visited with the Day Spring from on High," etc., 1660, is stated to be "written in the Island Bermuda." According to Joseph Smith (Catalogue of Friends' Books, II, 424), he died at Norwich, the 20th of Tenth month [December], 1695.¹

George Rofe (died 1664), a glazier by trade, lived at Halstead, Essex. Though it is not known when he was convinced, he is mentioned as being on a Gospel mission in Kent in 1655; he must, therefore, have been an early convert. He suffered much persecution, and was frequently imprisoned. He was an extensive traveler "in the service of Truth." American Friends have reason to honor his memory. He accompanied William Ames to Germany in 1657, and "at Creishiem on the Rhine, they were instrumental in the convincement of a little company, who,

¹ "First Publishers of Truth," p. 272; Norman Penney, in his note in Cambridge Edition, Journal of George Fox (ii: 431), states that "there is a long account of Pinder's visit to Bermuda in 1660 in Swarthmore MSS., iv, 39, in Devonshire House.

in after years, emigrated in a body to Pennsylvania, and settled at a place which they named Germantown."² He started on his visit to America in 1659, visited the West Indies and Bermuda, and in 1660 came to the continent of North America. Here he was active in missionary labors. To him the founding of New England Yearly Meeting in 1661 seems to be due.³ He returned to the West Indies, but came back to North America and visited New England, Long Island, and Maryland; while crossing Chesapeake Bay in a small boat during a storm, the boat was wrecked and George Rofo was drowned.⁴ He is credited by Joseph Smith with seven publications, mostly short tracts.

Friends, as in other places, suffered in Bermuda. George Rofo, soon after his coming, was imprisoned; but does not seem to have been detained very long, or been hardly treated. In 1665, two men Friends were arrested in Meeting, and one of them charged with "neglect of duty in not appearing among them in arms." The next year, Friends were fined one shilling for each absence from "mustering." In 1669, a law was passed fining every person who absented himself from the parish church on a Sunday, one shilling. In 1670 the wife of a Friend was attacked by a man who appeared to have a grudge against him, but she escaped; then the man tried to burn down the Friend's house. Finally the man was arrested, but as Robert Wilkinson, the Friend, would not make oath to the facts, the man was not indicted; but *Robert Wilkinson* himself was *fined* fifty shillings for *refusing to swear*, and, as he would not pay the fine, goods belonging to him were seized to the value of £5.8.0! It would be interesting to trace the subsequent history of Bermuda Friends; but data are not easily accessible, if, indeed, they exist in any degree of fulness. Probably, as in Barbados, they gradually died out.—EDITOR.

² Bowden, *Hist. of Friends in America*, i: 361. A facsimile of the signature of George Rofo will be found in *Armistead's Select Miscellanies*, iv, 94.

³ R. M. Jones, "Quakers in America," pp. 44, 144.

⁴ W. Alexander's "Collectitia," p. 124.

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN.

THE NEW EDITION.

It is the duty of the editor of the new edition of John Woolman's Journal to report progress. Much interesting personal material has been discovered, an outline map of the farm has been made, and specifications have been found in the handwriting of Woolman for the building of the brick house, still standing in Mount Holly, on the old Springfield road, now Branch Street. It is also hoped that we can certainly locate the frame house, long his home, and now used as a stable. Several new letters have recently appeared, and early family deeds, wills and certificates have also been obtained and copied.

The editor desires to state that most of the itinerary in England, during the last four months of Woolman's life, has been recovered from papers now at Swarthmore College. Certain portions are missing, and were probably lost.

English Friends are aiding us by having searches made at the different meetings visited by John Woolman between London and York.

So much has developed that requires attention in connection with the work, that it will be impossible to publish the Journal as soon as expected. It is wiser to endeavor to make the volume as complete as possible, and delay publication until the spring at least. Meantime, the work will go on as rapidly as is possible, consistent with the accuracy that is essential.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

THE EXCURSION OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, 1914, BURLINGTON, N. J.

The excursions of Friends' Historical Society are almost always occasions of interest, not only from the visitation of places of historic interest, but also from the added pleasure of social intercourse under leisurely conditions. The excursion to Burlington, N. J., on the twenty-third of Fifth month, 1914, was no

exception to the rule. In these days of fast limited-express trains, and of rapid motor-car travel, a steamboat sail up the Delaware River in a comparatively slow boat seems relatively deliberate. It certainly affords ample time for observation and conversation. The propitious weather added in no small degree to the enjoyment of the ride.

The time in which to see the old town was all too short. It was five o'clock before the company gathered in the old meeting-house to hear an illustrated lecture on "Old Burlington," by Henry S. Haines, a well-known citizen. Unfortunately, the lecture had to be cut short. Supper followed, the Society adding coffee and ice-cream to the supplies which individuals had provided for themselves. The supper was eaten on the grass at the rear of the meeting house.

The burial ground is remarkable for the graves of many well known in Quaker history—George and Sarah Dilwyn, John Hoskins, Thomas Scattergood (of the eighteenth century), Richard Mott, the great preacher; John Cox, Stephen Grellet, Rebecca and Rachel Grellet, William J. Allinson, Dr. Joseph W. Taylor, Samuel J. Gummere, president of Haverford College, and Eliza P. Gurney, the widow of Joseph John Gurney.

There were about one hundred and fifty who took part in the steamboat excursion, and perhaps a hundred more attended the gathering at the meeting-house.

Lest it appear that there was no "history" being acquired that afternoon, let us add a paragraph or two as to what was or might have been learned. Burlington, as a Friends' settlement, is older than Philadelphia, and second only to Salem in this part of the country. It was the ship *Kent* which in the year 1677 carried two hundred and thirty Friends from England, where they were suffering persecution for conscience' sake. Half of these people were from London and half from Yorkshire. The voyage was long but uneventful. Two deaths on the way over had a depressing effect on the minds of the passengers.

When the *Kent* arrived in the Delaware, after touching at the mouth of Raccoon Creek (now Swedesboro), they worked up the river to the site of their proposed settlement, called at

first Beverly, then Bridlington, finally Burlington. John Crips, in 1677, wrote back to England: "This is a town laid out in twenty proprietaries, and a straight line drawn from the river side, up the land, which is to be the Main Street, and a market-place about the middle. The Yorkshire ten proprietors are to build on one side, the London ten on the other." True to their religious character immediate provision was made for gatherings for worship. The sail of the ship *Kent* provided the first shelter. Afterward private houses were used. The well-known "six square" meeting-house was not finished until 1691. It stood a little in the rear of the present house. Only a year elapsed before steps were taken for the organization of a Monthly Meeting. Witness this opening minute of Burlington records:

"Since, by the good providence of God, many Friends, with their families, have transported themselves into this province of West New Jersey, the said Friends, in these upper parts, have found it needful, according to our practice in the place we came from, to settle Monthly Meetings for well ordering of the affairs of the church. It was agreed that, accordingly it should be done, and accordingly it was done, this fifteenth of Fifth month [July], 1678."

This meeting, be it noted, had no superior meeting. It came into existence by its own action.

At the next meeting held after the "15th of the 5th month" "it was agreed that a collection be made once a month for the relief of the poor and such other necessary uses as may occur . . . to be collected the First day before the Month Meeting." "On the 4th of 7th month [September] 1679 it was also desired that Friends would consider the matter as touching the selling of Rum unto Indians [if it] be lawful at all for Friends professing truth to be concerned in it." [MS. Records Burlington Monthly Meeting.]

By 1681 the meeting had subordinate branches, as follows: Shackamaxon (Phila.), Chester, Pa., Rancocas, Falls, Pa., and a branch on Long Island. These soon acquired the stature of Monthly Meetings themselves, but the mere mention of the names gives a sense of the early importance of Burlington.

A general meeting was held at Burlington in 1681 and at Salem in 1682. As this was to be an annual event the name "Yearly Meeting" gradually came into use. Wm. Penn was present at Burlington in 1683, and Pennsylvania Friends held a general meeting in Philadelphia, only a month later. In 1684 and again in 1685, the two general meetings were held. Then Friends were able to reach a sensible conclusion that there should be one general meeting (or Yearly Meeting) for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, etc., which should meet alternately at Burlington and at Philadelphia. This arrangement continued in force for a period of seventy-five years. In 1760, Philadelphia was agreed upon as being more central for all concerned.¹

The study of past controversies, of which the final outcome is known, destroys the spirit of prejudice. It brings home to the mind the evils that are likely to spring from violent policy based on want of understanding of opponents. When a man has studied the history of the Democrats and Aristocrats of Corcyra, of the English and Irish, of the Jacobins and the Anti-Jacobins, his political views may remain the same, but his political temper and his way of thinking about politics may have improved, if he is capable of receiving an impression.—G. M. TREVELYAN, in *Chio*, p. 20.

The value and pleasure of travel, whether at home or abroad, is doubled by a knowledge of history. For places, like books, have an interest or a beauty of association, as well as an absolute or æsthetic beauty.—*Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹ Part of this paper appeared in *The Friend*, Philadelphia, Sixth month 11, 1914.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

Friends' Quarterly Examiner, Seventh month, 1914. London, West, Newman & Co., 54 Hatton Garden; United States, Grace W. Blair, Media, Pa. Price, 1s. 6d.

This valuable periodical is now in its forty-seventh year. Its files are a full storehouse for Quaker students. This number is called "A Special Quaker Number," and rightly. It would be hard to find elsewhere, in so short a compass, such a clear view of the aims and aspirations of modern English Quakerism. The opening paper on "The Cardinal Tenets of Quakerism," states them to be:

- "1. The Principle of the Inner Light.
- "2. Reliance Upon a Spiritual Experience.
- "3. A Way of Life."

These are defined as, "Distinguishing and differentiating characteristics;" that is, while most of what are often called the fundamentals of Christianity were held by the early Friends in common with other Christian bodies, these three were those which differentiated them from others; "they are in addition to, and not in substitution for the broad message of the Gospels."

Three Woodbrooke Liturgies. Arranged by Rendel Harris. Second edition, with the addition of Three Woodbrooke Homilies. London, Headley Brothers, 1914. 16mo. 94 pp. Price, 1s. 6d.

Liturgies are generally supposed to be ancient, but these are very modern. Friends are supposed to be against liturgical compositions, and yet these are written by a Friend! An examination of the book will soon show that Dr. Harris uses the word "liturgy" in a sense somewhat different from the popular one. The three liturgies are, the Liturgy of the Skylark; of the Rose, and of the Falling Leaf; and the Homilies are brief comments with applications to life. The object of the exercises set forth in this little volume is "to have our inward ears opened to the voice of Nature and to the voice of God."

The Sufferings and the Glory. By J. Rendel Harris, M.A. London, Headley Brothers, 1914. Price, 2s. 6d.

Like the volume noticed above, this book is connected with the Woodbrooke Settlement, being addresses delivered at that place. It is an exceedingly difficult book to review. Those who are familiar with the spiritual and religious views of the author will know what is meant when it is said that the addresses are thoroughly characteristic of the author. Perhaps some idea of the point of view may be gained from the following words from the preface: "I regard the central historical fact in the

traditional message of Christianity to be the death of the Founder. . . . And that the central doctrine of Christianity ought to be an interpretation of its central fact."

To Men and Women of Goodwill in the British Empire. A Message from the Religious Society of Friends.¹ [Isaac Sharp, 136 Bishopsgate, London, E. C. 7. viii, 1914. Folio 3 pp. For free distribution.]

Though the BULLETIN is mainly concerned with the past, it is eminently fitting that this remarkable document, issued three days only after the declaration of war by Great Britain against Germany, should be noticed. The outcome of an earnest religious concern, this paper is both practical and spiritual, and is admirably adapted to existing conditions in Great Britain and her Empire, and should be helpful to all lovers of Peace.

It is probable that no document ever issued by Friends has had a wider circulation. Hundreds of thousands of copies have been distributed in Great Britain; it was published (as an advertisement) in the great newspapers of Great Britain as well as in many local papers; and in some places it was distributed by house-to-house visitation. Besides being read in Friends' Meetings, it has been read and commented upon from many non-conformist pulpits, and, we are informed, from some of the Church of England.

As the document has been read, without doubt, by most of our readers, it is needless to make further comment.

The Life of the Rt. Hon. John Edward Ellis, M.P. By Arthur Tilney Bassett, with a Preface by Viscount Bryce, O.M. With portraits. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1914. 8vo, pp. xv. 300. 7s. 6d. net.

This is a well written biography. John Edward Ellis (1841-1910) was a Friend, active in all public interests, local as well as national. He was many years in Parliament; was chairman of committees, Under-Secretary for India, a Privy Councillor, and a member having great personal influence. He was a great admirer of Gladstone, a Home Ruler, a steady opponent of war, and a supporter of reform. So much space is devoted to the political side of his life, that considerable knowledge of

¹ According to *The Friend* (London) for Eighth month 14, the draft of the paper is the work of Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, by whom it was presented to the Meeting for Sufferings, which revised it and directed it to be printed.

It has been republished in *The Friend* (London), Eighth month 14; *The Friend* (Philadelphia), Ninth month 3; *The American Friend* (Richmond, Ind.), Ninth month 4, 1914, and *Friends' Intelligencer*, Eighth month 29.

English politics is needful for thorough enjoyment of the volume. Such men as he are an honor to the country in which they live.

A Quaker Grandmother. Hannah Whitall Smith. By Ray Strachey, author of "Frances Willard," etc. Illustrated. New York, F. H. Revell Co., 1914. 16mo., 144. \$1.00 net.

Those who knew Hannah Whitall Smith will recognize as truthful to her point of view the many characteristic sayings quoted from her conversation and letters. Those who, like the reviewer, are old-fashioned enough to think that children of tender years and youth of immature knowledge and experience are not wise or infallible judges of what is best for them, will not be likely to agree with the principles of education laid down, or apparently laid down, in this little book. The letters were not written with the expectation of being published, and it seems a pity that some of them, at least, should have been given to the public.

Gleanings from the Works of George Fox. Compiled by Dorothy Richardson. London, Headley Brothers, 1914. Pp. 109. 1s. net.

This little volume is one of the Religion of Life Series. The selections are well chosen. An excellent introduction precedes the extracts.

The Historic and the Inward Christ. A Study in Quaker Thought. The Swarthmore Lecture for 1914. By Edward Grubb. London, Headley Brothers, 1914. 12mo, pp. 100. 1s. net.

This lecture well merits a place in the series. It presents a clear statement of the subject, and is a welcome addition to the modern studies and monographs on Quaker themes.

Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries. By Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt. London, Macmillan & Co., 1914. 8vo, pp. li, 362. 16s. 6d. net. New York, the Macmillan Co. \$3.50 net.

This is a new volume in the series relating to the origin and development of Quaker thought. Though the men whose spiritual lives are here depicted had no direct contact with George Fox and the early Friends, Professor Jones makes it evident that spiritual religion was in the air during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is also made very clear that, though there is little or nothing to show that Fox was not essentially original in his views, many of what are called Quaker "testimonies" were held and promulgated long before Fox's time, as well as contemporaneously, or nearly so.

Among others in this gallery of portraits are Bänderlin, Entfelder, Sebastian Franck, Caspar Schwenckfeld, Sebastian Castellio, and above all, Jacob Boehme, on the Continent; and John Everhard, Giles Randall,

Benjamin Whichcote, Peter Sterry and Thomas Traherne, in Great Britain.

Perhaps the connection of the teachings of these "spiritual Reformers" and the early Friends may be indicated where it is said, speaking of George Fox and the early Friends, these latter "first gave the unorganized and inarticulate movement a concrete body and organism to express itself through." "Fox can be rightly appreciated only as he is seen to be a potent member of an organic group-life, which formed him as much as he formed it."

The "Introduction" is especially interesting and valuable. The whole book is written in the author's clear, attractive style.

Quaker Biographies. Volume V. Philadelphia, Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch Street, 1914. 12mo., pp. 255. 75 cents.

This volume concludes the present series. It resembles the previous volumes in every respect. The illustrations are helpful, and an Index to the five volumes is a valuable feature. The subjects chosen are almost all of the nineteenth century; they are William Allen, Thomas Shilleto, Benjamin Seebohm, Joseph Sturge, Friends and Slavery, John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall, the Botanists, of the earlier days, and William U. Ditzler, of the last of whom many readers of the BULLETIN will have clear recollections.

The History of England, etc. By Lord Macaulay. In six volumes. Edited by Charles Harding Firth, M.A. Illustrated. London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1913-1914. Vols. 1-3. Roy. 8vo. \$3.00 per volume.

This new edition of Macaulay's History of England is finely printed, and beautifully illustrated, the illustrations being reproductions of celebrated portraits, views, etc., which admirably supplement the text. One would naturally think that in such an edition, Macaulay's errors and misstatements concerning William Penn, and others, would be pointed out and commented upon. Such is not the case, however, for Macaulay's latest revision is reproduced without comment. The editor says in his preface: "It has not been thought desirable to add any new references or any comments. . . . It has seemed best to reserve any critical observations for a separate publication." It is greatly to be regretted that this course should be followed. That Macaulay's statements regarding Penn are worse than erroneous is incontestable, and that they should be repeated without comment seems at this late date to be unjustifiable, for comparatively few readers will see the "critical publication," if it appears. Such serious errors as Macaulay made should be at least pointed out in footnotes. This edition is mentioned here chiefly to call the attention of readers of the BULLETIN to the facts as stated above.

Teachers and Taught Text-Books. Graded Section. Lessons on the Kingdom of Israel; Lessons on the Kingdom of Judah. By C. C. Graveson, B.A. London, Headley Brothers, 1914. Two volumes. 16mo., pp. 134, 126. 1s. 6d. each. Cloth.

These two volumes in the useful series named above are of the same character as those previously noticed in the BULLETIN. Ten volumes have now been issued, and others are promised.

The Quakers of Iowa. By Louis Thomas Jones. Published at Iowa City, Iowa, in 1914, by the State Historical Society of Iowa. 8vo., pp. 360. \$2.50.

The mechanical execution of this book is a credit to the Society and to the author.

Dr. Louis T. Jones is well qualified for his task, his birth, education and associations being Friendly, and having, moreover, a familiarity with conditions which is doubtless unsurpassed. The book is the result of four years or more of study, and as now published is his Thesis presented to the State University of Iowa for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The book is divided into five parts: Historical Narrative; Iowa Quaker Orthodoxy; Minority Bodies of Friends in Iowa; Benevolent and Educational Enterprises; Religious and Social Life of the Quakers. So far as it has been practicable to examine the work, the author has done his work well, and has been remarkably impartial. A careful perusal of his pages will reveal much that many Friends in the East know little about, or perhaps nothing at all.

Many Friends, certainly in the East, will approve the author's question when, after speaking of the "persistent spirit of conservatism" in the "smaller body of Orthodox Friends in Iowa," which has led them "into a state of stagnation and apparent decline," and of "the growing disregard for its original tenets [which] now threatens to leave the larger Yearly Meeting little that is distinctive in character except its denominational name, he asks is there not somewhere between these two extremes a happy medium which would be advantageous to both? (Page 183.) The work is to be commended to all who are interested in present-day conditions of Quakerism.

So far as tested, the Index is full and accurate. The position of the Notes and References at the *end* of the volume, instead of at the *foot of the pages*, is not only annoying to the careful reader and student, but the tendency is to cause them to be neglected by the ordinary reader altogether. The author has evidently sought widely for authorities, and has used them judiciously. It would have added to the dignity of his work, as well as to its usefulness, had a list of the authorities been given.

NOTES AND QUERIES

BI-CENTENNIAL OF LONDON GROVE MEETING.—The celebration of the bi-centennial of the establishment of London Grove Meeting, which belongs to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, was held at London Grove, Pennsylvania, Tenth month, 1914. From an interesting paper in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), Tenth month 8, 1914, we learn that the meeting began in 1714 and was held in the house of John Smith. Ten years later a meeting-house was built.

FRANKFORD, AND ABINGTON MEETINGS.—In *The Friend* (Philadelphia), for Ninth month 17 and 24, there is an historical account of Frankford Meeting, and in the number for Tenth month 1, one of Abington Meeting, both by Caroline Webster Smedley.

EVANGELICAL FRIEND DISCONTINUED.—Ohio Yearly Meeting, in Eighth month last, concluded to discontinue its contribution towards the publication of the *Evangelical Friend*, chiefly, it would seem, on account of the heavy financial burden involved in its continuance. This paper has been published since 1905. First, weekly, and then, since First month, 1913, monthly. "It was also felt that the work which it had undertaken to do was about completed, viz., to bring to

the attention of Friends of America the dangers which attend the promulgation of false doctrines [what is usually known as 'higher criticism' and 'modern thought'] within the ranks of the church schools."

SOUTH AFRICAN QUARTERLY, No. 1.—*The South African Friend* has been publishing a supplement devoted to social, political and economic interests. This new journal is practically the old supplement under a new name. Its aim "is to promote the growing recognition of our national and individual responsibilities within South Africa, and to stimulate literary taste." "The editor and the various contributors *give their services free*, any profits made being devoted to the improvement of the Journal." The papers in this number—June-August, 1914—throw considerable light on the political and social problems in the new Union of South Africa. Two questions are prominent—the "cheap labor" question and the race or color problem. That these are of vital import is shown by the fact "that out of a population [in the Union of South Africa] of six and a half millions, only one-fifth is white." The price of the Journal is 2s. 6d. per annum, and it may be ob-

tained of the Central News Agency, Cape Town, South Africa, or of Headley Brothers, 140 Bishopgate, London.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The number of this periodical for Seventh month, 1914, is noticeable for the number of short papers and paragraphs of unusual interest. Four letters of George Fox to Margaret Fox, 1673-1674, are spoken of, three of them are printed in full for the first time. It is rather strange that the originals of two of the letters named should be in Philadelphia. The Presidential Address, 1914, by J. Ernest Grubb, of Ireland, is an account of the life of the early Friends in the province of Munster, Ireland, illustrated with numerous extracts from the Meeting Records. The editor's "Friends in Current Literature" shows how keen is his vision for interesting items.

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Pennsylvania in Colonial years, I finally decided upon the following: Thomas Lloyd, David Lloyd, James Logan, John Kinsey, Isaac Norris, 2d, James Pemberton and John Dickinson. The list was no sooner made out than it became evident that they were all closely related. Thomas Lloyd speaks of David Lloyd as his "kinsman," though how near is not known. Thomas Lloyd's daughter Mary married Isaac Norris, and their son, Isaac Norris, 2d, married Sarah, the daughter of James Logan. John Kinsey, himself, was not in the line of descent, but his wife was a sister of the wife of Thomas Lloyd, grandson of the first Thomas Lloyd. James Pemberton's mother was the sister of James Logan's wife, and himself married Hannah Lloyd, a great-granddaughter of the first Thomas Lloyd. John Dickinson married Mary, the daughter of Isaac Norris, 2d, and granddaughter of James Logan.

It is no wonder that the country Friends looked with some suspicion on this ancestral tree, though they had to admit that its members were worthy of all the honor and leadership they possessed. I. S.

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THE ANTI-SLAVERY SEPARATION IN INDIANA AND
THE "HENRY CLAY INCIDENT" IN 1842.

BY HARLOW LINDLEY.

For five or six years prior to 1840, the legislatures of the Northwestern States had busied themselves in passing resolutions condemning the abolition movement and increasing the severity of the Black Laws. All such movements, however, had only served to increase the zeal and determination of the Abolitionists. In addition to the state and local anti-slavery societies, an Abolition party movement had begun to form by 1840 in the new "Liberty Party."

A confused state of affairs soon followed, and the slavery agitation increased. The "Protectionist" said that the means employed by the pro-slavery party to put down abolitionists were "slander, persecution, legislative bulls, ecclesiastical anathemas, tar and feathers, rotten eggs, bowie knives, fire and murder."¹ There were various shades of pro-slavery sentiment throughout Indiana, as well as various degrees of anti-slavery views. Some favored one thing, some another, and some were not sure about anything. The shifting order of events broke into church organizations. Even as conscientious a body as the Indiana Yearly Meeting did not escape the consequences. It suffered a separation in its ranks while in the midst of the important work it was doing.

In bringing up the causes leading to the separation, it will be necessary to go back a few years in the history of the Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting had opposed the colonization scheme in 1839. However, this was not the first expression on the subject. In an epistle in 1836 the meeting advised the members against the "unrighteous work of expatriation." The same epistle called attention to the work being done by those not belonging to the Society, and urged Friends not to "cast any discouragements in the way of such as are faithfully laboring to

¹ *The Protectionist*, February 16, 1841.

promote universal emancipation." The next year Friends were again urged on in the following language: "We do not wish any to engage in active measures on any other ground than a sense of duty, and in accordance with our well-known principles, yet we would encourage all to a close examination as to what is required at their hands, and how they may employ the talents committed to them for noble purposes in the advancement of the blessed work of emancipation, by meekly, yet boldly, either publicly or privately, pleading the cause of the oppressed." The anti-slavery Friends claimed that these and similar expressions gave them permission and encouraged them to join abolition societies if they saw fit to do so. At any rate, many of them did join, and soon became quite active in the promotion and work of these societies.

By 1840, however, there had grown up in the Yearly Meeting an opposition to the part Friends were taking in the abolition societies. This, no doubt, had come about as a result of the general agitation of the slavery question, and the extreme opposition and protest brought to bear throughout the state, against the abolitionists and their work. At any rate, Friends were advised not to join other anti-slavery societies. This aroused quite a feeling on the part of the more radical members who had become so actively engaged in the anti-slavery cause.

Finally, Friends were advised not to allow anti-slavery meetings to be held in their meeting houses. In the Minutes of 1840 we find the following: "Information having reached this meeting that some of our meeting-houses have been opened for the purpose of holding anti-slavery meetings and delivering lectures, we feel concerned to advise against such a practice, as being contrary to the general usage of society, and of hurtful tendency to our members." In this same report of the meeting for sufferings is to be found another passage to which anti-slavery Friends pointed as being a proof that the leaders of the Yearly Meeting were being influenced by politicians. It ran thus: "We desire that all may faithfully maintain this Christian testimony, and cherish a lively interest both for the oppressed and the oppressors. Thus maintaining our peaceable and Christian prin-

ciples in unbroken harmony, we shall, we believe, be enabled as way may open, more availingly to plead the cause of this much injured race of our fellow men; and retain the place and influence, which as a society, we have heretofore had with *the rulers of our land.*" The breach, which had been gradually widening between the two divisions of the society was now increased. Various means of persuasion were used to induce the members to submit to the rulings of the Yearly Meeting.

The Protectionists said that "Friends' meeting houses in many parts of the state are the only public buildings that have been opened, or that can now be obtained, for assembling the people to listen to the recital of the story of the wrongs of the slave, and to have their sympathies aroused by the presentation of truth, and that, by the decision of the Yearly Meeting in an attempt to close the meeting houses to anti-slavery meetings, 'the advocates of this most righteous cause' are literally shut out from this field of labor to a very great extent."

Previous to 1842 it appears that a scheme had been arranged, the purpose of which was either to force members to submit to the rulings of the organization in power, or to increase the control of this organization by removing certain objectionable members from important positions in the Yearly Meeting. The following extract from the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings seems to indicate this: "At a Meeting for Sufferings of Indiana Yearly Meeting, held October 1, 1842. The committee appointed at last meeting to examine the list of names of our members report that they have attended thereto, and after a time of solid consideration thereon, are united in judgment, that Benjamin Stanton, Jacob Grave, William Locke and Charles Osborn have become disqualified for usefulness in this body, which being weightily considered was united with." In all, eight radical abolitionists were thus removed from positions on business committees.

This step, which seems to have been directed against the radicals, proved fatal to the unity of the Yearly Meeting.

The same meeting (1842) sent out an Epistle of Advice to the subordinate meetings and members, warning them not to join

or take part in the "excitement and over-active zeal of the Anti-slavery Societies." The subordinate meetings were also advised "to be weighty and deliberate in making appointments to any of the important stations and committees in the Society, so that faithful and trusty Friends may be chosen; as we believe that those who have distinguished themselves by opposition or disregard to the advices and travail of the body, are manifestly unsuitable for important services in it, while they remain in that position."

A marked division in the membership of the Yearly Meeting was now evident. Those who felt aggrieved attempted to hold a conference in the building after the close of the meeting, but were immediately told to leave the building. Being thus driven out of the temple by the "Scribes and Pharisees," as the anti-slavery members thought, they set a meeting for the next day to be held at Newport, ten miles north of Richmond. A conference was accordingly held. They decided to meet and confer at different times in various places, and in the meantime to watch closely the general drift of affairs. Finally losing hope of any retraction on the part of the Yearly Meeting organization, they decided to call a convention at Newport, January 4, 1843. The convention met, however, on February 6, 1843, gave out the following declaration and organized a Yearly Meeting:

"In consequence of the departure of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends from the true and genuine principles of the Society in regard to our testimony against slavery, and because of its arbitrary, proscriptive, and unchristian measures; a meeting of Anti-slavery Friends convened at Newport, Wayne County, Indiana, and after giving the subject a serious and deliberate examination, it was the unanimous conclusion that the circumstances under which we are now placed, as members of that body, render it indispensably necessary to separate ourselves therefrom. We, therefore, now the Seventh day of Second month, 1843, associate ourselves together as a religious society, in the capacity of a Yearly Meeting, under the title of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-slavery Friends."

A committee was appointed to draft a declaration of the

causes for the separation, and from its report we may quote the following passages as showing the situation from the standpoint of the new anti-slavery organization: "We have not separated from the principles of the society, nor from its testimonies and discipline, but from that body of members who have departed from our testimony against slavery, and from a due respect to the discipline. We wish it distinctly understood that we have adopted no new doctrine, nor any new system of church government." . . . "We wish not to be understood as denying that there is any anti-slavery feeling among the members of the Yearly Meeting from which we have now seceded; on the contrary, we doubt not but many of them are desirous to promote immediate and unconditional emancipation, and are only restrained from active labors in the cause by the prospective measures of the "Body" so called; measures which have been brought about chiefly by the agency of those individuals who, we believe, are too anxious to "retain a place and influence with the rulers of the land." . . .

One other thing needs to be mentioned here to make the story of the separation a little more complete. It happened in 1842 while the Yearly Meeting was in session. Henry Clay, a slaveholder, champion of colonization, and a staunch opposer of abolition, while on an electioneering tour, came to Richmond. He paid a visit to the Yearly Meeting, and, so it was said, was "cordially" received. It is also said that in his public speech which he made to the community, he alluded to the Friends as having taken the right stand on the slavery question. The anti-slavery Friends never could forget this instance, and they always pointed to it with scorn. They claimed that this instance showed that many of the Friends had become supporters of slavery and colonization, and that afterwards they voted for Clay.

During his public address in Richmond, a petition with about two thousand signatures was handed him, asking him to liberate his slaves. He answered the petitioners publicly before the large audience which had gathered to hear his speech.

There seems to be somewhat of a misunderstanding in regard to the Henry Clay affair at Richmond in 1842. In an effort

to clear up this matter, the writer here submits the report of the committee that presented the petition to Clay. This report is to be found in the issue of October 15, 1842, of the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*.²

"Report of the Committee who were appointed to present the following petition to Henry Clay, on his visit to this State, requesting him to emancipate his slaves, or give his reasons for not complying with their request. We the undersigned citizens of Indiana, in view of the declaration of right contained in the charter of American Independence, in view of the justice which is due from man to his fellow man; in view of all those noble principles which should characterize the Patriot, the Philanthropist and the Christian; ask you, most respectfully, to 'unloose the heavy burdens,' and that you let the oppressed under your control, who call you Master, go FREE. By doing so you would give "liberty to whom liberty is due," and do no more than justice to those under your charge, who have long been deprived by you of the sacred boon of freedom; and set an example that would result in much good to suffering and debased humanity, and do an act altogether worthy a great and a good man."

This petition was signed by nearly two thousand of the citizens of Indiana.

"Expecting that many versions will be given of the proceedings in relation to the performance of our duties, we think it proper to make a full and candid statement of the whole transaction—and also report as much of his reply as circumstances would allow us to collect—no facilities being at hand for taking his remarks, the only opportunities available were, to take notes with a pencil, in the midst of a dense concourse crowding and swaying like ocean surges.

"The first object of your committee was to make themselves acquainted with the time that would be most convenient, on the part of Henry Clay, for their reception. They accordingly addressed him the appended note:

² An anti-slavery paper published at Fountain City, Ind., 1841-1848.

“ Richmond, 10th Month, 1st. 1842.

“ We who are appointed a committee by a large convention of people, to present a petition to Henry Clay, signed by near two thousand citizens of Indiana; respectfully ask him to communicate the hour that such interview would be most convenient.

“ Signed,

“ DANIEL WORTH,

“ PETER CROCKER,

“ HIRAM MENDENHALL,

“ SAMUEL MITCHELL.

“ The two last names were substituted by the Committee in the place of H. H. Way and Israel French, who were absent. The note was presented to Ervin Reed, one of the Clay committee of arrangements; by Friends Mendenhall and Mitchell.

“ Soon after, it was announced from the stand by James Rariden, that if any petitions were to be offered to H. Clay, they would be received at that place and in public, and he would reply to them in public.

“ The committee accordingly repaired to the stand, and when called upon, presented their petition, through H. Mendenhall. Threats and cries of violence were heard from a few desperate characters in the crowd.

“ H. Clay at this time stepped forward and earnestly entreated them to desist and offer no insult or violence to the Committee—and here your committee exceedingly regret that they were unable to retain his exact words, for they deem this the most manlike and generous part of his reply.

“ The petitioners, he said, shall be treated with respect and the utmost propriety; Citizens, for my sake forebear—I do not feel, so help me God, but the kindest regard for them, and their associates. He said the act of presenting the petition, was unworthy the dignity of an American citizen, that their motives were of the most ungenerous character. That the signers were Democrats and those a shade darker. He intimated that the design of the petitioners was to use influence against him.

"He adverted to the circumstances under which he came here.

"While on a visit to Indianapolis, passing through—he could not go in the air, nor by water, but must travel by land—and must pass through this place. That it was beneath the dignity of an American citizen to petition his equal, petitions are from inferiors to superiors, or to those having absolute power.

"The petitions should have been brought to Ashland.

"Suppose you should be passing through my country and I should ask you to give up your land? But I am aware you make a distinction in the different kinds of property.

"We are in the midst of slavery, fastened on us by Great Britain. The 'declaration of rights,' of which you speak, was not intended by those who formed that document as you interpret it.

"Thirteen of the States that formed that Declaration held slaves at that very time. Yours is a new interpretation. Had those sentiments been understood as you understand them, we should all have been slaves to this very day.

"There is not a man who deplores slavery more than I do.

"It is not only an evil, but a great evil. Do the abolitionists think they know more about our business than we know ourselves?

"That man is not worthy of public trust who will not regard the prejudices of the people.

"The slaves must be prepared for freedom, before they can receive that great boon, they must have moral civilization. The society of Friends take the right stand in relation to this subject.

"In those States where the slaves predominate, should the principles in your petition be granted, extermination and bloodshed would be the result.

"Yours are the revolutionary principles of Thomas Dorr of Rhode Island.

"In one year after the principles in your petition were granted, ruin, extermination, fraud and blood would be the result.

"I own about fifty slaves. I treat them kindly, ask my Charles. While in Canada he could not be prevailed upon to

leave me. He goes as well clad, as well shod, and I believe is as honest a man as Mr. Mendenhall.

"Then I have a poor helpless old woman and her family, what shall I do with them? What does the petition ask me to do with them? Turn them out to starve? I have another class I cannot force freedom upon.

"Charles' father is the only piece of this kind of property that I hold by inheritance.

"But I consider the slaves as my property. We have an idea that whatever the law secures to us as property, is property.

"But I will make you and your associates a proposition,—if you will raise \$15,000 the present value of the slaves as a capital for them to commence with.

"Here friend Mendenhall, who had been sitting under a cataract of abusive eloquence that had been pouring down upon him in torrents, such eloquence as Henry Clay, could use, arose and very calmly replied, 'Let us understand you, is this money to be given to the slaves, or to H. Clay.'

"The sentiment was then repeated that it was for the slaves.

"State rights, he continued, the states have their rights and you have no more right to interfere with them than you have with foreign nations.

"Slavery is our misfortune, not our fault; but whether our misfortune or our fault, it is none of your business.

"I recommend for the example of abolitionists, the Society of Friends, Joseph Gurney (Joseph John Gurney, we suppose) and the Society to which he belongs, sympathize with their white brethren as well as their black. They do not denounce and condemn.

"Your efforts have put back the cause of emancipation fifty years."

"Your committee have endeavored to give in all cases the *main ideas*, and as much as possible the language of the speaker; but owing to the circumstances to which reference has already been made, we have fallen far short of reporting the whole discourse. If any of the sentiments are not correctly reported, we shall be happy to be corrected. Those who tell us of our faults

are our friends in this matter. He concluded his reply by a retrospect of the sentiments advanced in his just finished political discourse, and by referring to those *great principles of freedom* for which our fathers bled. "And there lie the last remains of those principles," said friend Mendenhall, pointing to the roll of the petition lying before him.

"Signed,

"PETER CROCKER,

"SAMUEL MITCHELL,

"DANIEL WORTH,

"HIRAM MENDENHALL."

In an editorial on Clay's reply to the petition, amongst other things, the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*, of November 5, 1842, said:

"The eulogy pronounced by him on the Society of Friends respecting their course on slavery and abolition, coming as it does from a slaveholder, the advocate of interminable slavery, and the determined opposition of every scheme of emancipation, is a gross libel on true Quakerism. It is a scorching satire on the Society. . . .

"But perhaps it was only intended to procure Quaker votes. We rejoice in believing that a considerable number, (we wish we could say all) will look upon such praise as great scandal, and manifest by their conduct that their votes will not be cast for a slaveholder, at any price."

This same paper on December 10, 1842, published an article entitled, "Misrepresentations Corrected." This was done in an effort to clear up the Henry Clay affair. It runs as follows:

"We think it but an act of common justice to all parties concerned, to correct some erroneous statements that have been made respecting the late visit of Henry Clay to Richmond, his reception by Friends, and the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting.

"Such as, that the Yearly Meeting censured all its members who signed the petition asking him to liberate his slaves, and appoint a committee to inform him that that body disapproved of the petition. That when he attended the meeting he

was placed on the foremost seat,—that at the conclusion of the meeting he was surrounded by throngs of men and women, eager to exchange salutations with the slaveholding duelist, and kissed by a number of the latter. And that the clerk of the Yearly Meeting took him in his carriage and drove three times around the house in order to exhibit him to the gazing throng.

“The facts in the case as we have them from personal knowledge, and from the statements of persons of veracity upon whom we can rely, are, we believe simply these,—

“A few Friends (we say not by what authority; but not sent by the Yearly Meeting) waited on Henry Clay to inform him that the Society had no hand in, and disapproved of the presentation of the petition.

“And though the statement that has been made in the public papers, of the appointment by the Yearly Meeting of a Committee to wait on H. Clay is incorrect, it is evident from the whole transaction that the intelligence carried to him by the Friends was an expression of the feelings of the ruling part of the Society, and was received by him as such.

“The statement respecting what took place at the meeting which Henry Clay attended seems to be partly correct and partly erroneous. We have made strict inquiry of those who were present, and have received the following information, which we think may be relied on as correct.

“The clerk of the Yearly Meeting took or sent his carriage to Clay's lodgings, on First-day morning to convey him to the meeting. . . .

“The company arrived some time previous to the sitting of the meeting. It is common at these large meetings to keep the doors shut until the hour arrives. But when Clay and his suit arrived, the north door of the men's apartment was opened, and they entered. Clay and some of his particular Whig friends were conducted to the head of the seat commonly designated as the second gallery immediately in front of the seat occupied by the foreign ministers in attendance, and the clerk of the meeting took his seat by their side. At the conclusion of the meeting, a scene took place which we believe is altogether unprecedented

in the history of the Society. A member of the Yearly Meeting, a minister of great notoriety, who has signalized himself in stirring up opposition to abolition Friends, arose and commenced the business of a formal introduction of the distinguished slaveholder to his friends; proclaiming aloud 'This is Henry Clay—this is Friend ———, this is Friend ———,' etc. Friends of both sexes gathered around to shake his hand. When this part of the scene had closed the clerk took the slaveholder by the arm and conducted him out of the house, to the carriage near the north door and handed him in, taking a seat with him. The carriage was driven around the east end of the house and along the south side on their way to the City. This we believe was all the driving around the house that took place, and it does not appear that this was done for the purpose of show. These appear to be about the facts of Clay's attendance of the meeting. And though we believe that such special honors, such marked attentions were never before publicly paid by Friends to any man however good or great, as were on this occasion paid to this prince of slaveholders, yet it may be pleaded as an excuse that the peculiar circumstances of the case justified it. It was probably thought justifiable and necessary to make this extraordinary demonstration of respect, in order to evince to Henry Clay the determined hostility of Friends to abolitionism, and their unwavering attachment to Whigism, of which he was looked up to as the representative head.

"Respecting the kissing, so much talked about, it was not done in the meeting house that we know of. All the information we have on the subject, that we can rely on is this.

"Henry Clay being at the temperance boarding house, and about to take leave of the place, when he came down stairs, a considerable number of females, old and young, Orthodox and Hicksites, were arranged in a line, along which he passed from one end to the other, giving each an affectionate parting kiss."

On December 21, 1842, the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle* said:

"That a number of leading members of the Yearly Meeting did wait on Henry Clay during his stay in Richmond, is not

disputed; but whether they were delegated or not, we cannot say, and if delegated, it was by conference held for that and other similar purposes, and not by the Yearly Meeting. And whether delegated or not, it is doubtful whether they used the language imputed to them.

"There is no doubt that he (Henry Clay) 'made a decided impression' on the people, the Friends as well as others, but that it was in his favor is very questionable. If it does not lose him thousands of votes we will agree that we have been mistaken."

It is claimed by many that Clay's answer to the petition at Richmond was one of the principal causes, if not the real cause, of the beginning of his political downfall.

In view of what Clay said in regard to the treatment of his slaves, we offer the following for what it may be worth:

The Bugle, at Salem, Ohio, published the following as coming from the south part of the State, dated January 23,—*Liberator*—

"A slave of Henry Clay's is here on his way to Canada. He says a difficulty occurred between him and the overseer, and that he applied to his Master to interfere on his behalf, who directed the overseer to give him *three hundred lashes*.³ After giving him one hundred and fifty, by much importunity he released him for the time being, and he made his escape."³

The thing we are concerned with here, however, is what the Clay episode and the petition in particular may have had to do with the division in the Yearly Meeting. Some of the leaders of the Yearly Meeting told Clay that the petition had not come from the Friends as a movement, on the part of the meeting, but that it had come from the anti-slavery Friends of Newport. The anti-slavery Friends, therefore, took occasion to say that the Yearly Meeting was opposed to the petition, and that the members were taking sides with Clay. There must have been a misunderstanding in the case on both sides, for the petition originated in a meeting of the State Anti-slavery Society at Newport, and had not come from an organization of anti-slavery Friends

³ *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*, March 4, 1846.

proper. To be sure, many anti-slavery Friends belonged to this Society and had a part in getting up the petition, but this did not necessarily make it a Friends' measure. Hence, members of the Yearly Meeting were really right in telling Clay that it was not a movement on the part of the Yearly Meeting. The whole affair seems to have been misconstrued, and as a result quite a feeling was created on both sides.

From what has been said thus far it would seem that the complaint of the anti-slavery Friends was fairly well founded, but nevertheless there is much to be said in defense of the old Yearly Meeting. For instance, in defense of their action in regard to the Clay episode, they said that the petition had been produced for effect only, and that it had been signed by men, women, children and colored people, and further that it was only a trick played by Clay's political enemies for the purpose of galling him before the eyes of the audience. They said that it was not wrong to show such a distinguished man courtesy, and that the Anti-Slavery Friends were wrong when they said that everyone "made" over him. Osborn, himself, in giving advice to the anti-slavery Friends, later said: "I wish it distinctly understood that I do not blame them or any body else for shaking hands with Henry Clay, provided they do it in a friendly and becoming manner; but that to which I call your attention is the construction you put upon it."

When the "disqualified members" were not allowed to take part in the important business of the meeting, they demanded that the cause for such treatment be given. This was denied them. The members of the old Yearly Meeting said that such a course had never been the practice, and that the anti-slavery members should not have asked for the causes, for it was out of place to bring up such affairs before the regular business meeting.

The anti-slavery Friends said that the old Yearly Meeting had lost its testimony against slavery, and that it had become pro-slavery. This charge, however, is unwarranted, because it is readily seen from the minutes of the Yearly Meeting that the same general line of work concerning the negroes was being kept up. The report of the committee on the concerns of the people

of color for 1844 shows that during the previous year a deputation had been sent to St. Louis to procure the emancipation of fourteen colored people, and that the liberation of another colored man had been obtained. Education was being kept up and colored people were being cared for as usual. The usual testimony against slavery is also shown in the answers to the queries.

It is true that the separation came about as a result of the slavery question, but its real cause lay in the fact that certain members felt that their rights and liberties were being encroached upon by a part of the organization in control of the Yearly Meeting. After an antagonistic feeling had once been stirred up by these arbitrary measures of the "body in control," it was easy enough for each side to find something to say about the other.

There was a difference of opinion as to the methods of fighting slavery. One faction favored the more radical abolition methods of the time, while the other attempted a conservative, quiet course of procedure. There is no doubt that one faction was as conscientious in its belief as the other. There was a wide difference of opinion amongst anti-slavery people throughout the country as to the best ways for fighting slavery, and what happened in the Yearly Meeting is only a reflection of this general state of confusion. The question as to which was the better method, the radical or the conservative, must always remain a difficult one to answer. There are those who tell us that the agitators themselves precipitated the war, that they would not let the slavery question rest for sober judgment; while on the other hand it is said that the conflict was inevitable, and that it was useless and impossible to try to check agitation because the very nature of the evil inherent in the system itself would not allow of any cessation in the struggle.

The principal features of the separation have been given, and it is needless to prolong the discussion here. The struggle against slavery was intensified because of the separation. The more radical Friends now felt free to go their length in any abolition movement they might choose to follow, while at the same time the Indiana Yearly Meeting had been newly aroused to its sense of duty.

Earlham College.

A VISIT TO DANIEL WEBSTER IN 1836.¹

BY JOSEPH FOULKE.

“The evening before we left Washington, by the kind attention of Dr. Sewel[?], we had a private interview with Daniel Webster at the doctor’s house in company with his private family. Joseph Parrish opened to him very clearly and graphically, the nature and object of our mission to Washington. He enquired of Daniel (calling him by his proper name in a kind and dignified manner) what was the reason that Slavery was so sore a subject that it must not be touched or meddled with at all in Congress. Daniel replied, “That it would have to be touched and be handled without gloves before long in Congress.” He gave us a reason that it had been proclaimed by a member from South Carolina on the floor of the United States Senate a few years ago when this soreness was not so much felt, and when members could speak their minds without fear of their popularity, “That Slavery was the darkest stain, and foulest blot on the United States Government, that Religion was against Slavery, that morality was against it, that sound policy was against it, that public sentiment (fairly understood) was against it, and now (though it was not for him to judge why that member was for supporting the discussion in Congress) Slavery is as great and mighty an evil as ever. And those mighty and tremendous agents were constantly pressing against it, and that its downfall was certain. For great as the monster may be it cannot and will not stand before such an array of power.”

It was remarked that it was very gratifying to us to hear those views entertained so in accordance with the doctrines inculcated by the wisest and best of men. He answered that he had clearly seen the last ten years the impolicy of Slavery, and the rapid march of those agents mentioned against it, but he expressed some doubt about Congress having much honor in its final

¹ From “Some Account of the Life and Experiences of Joseph Foulke.” Mss., pp. 100-102.

overthrow; for, said he, "The only peaceable way to overcome it is upon the principles expressed in your excellent memorial which was read to-day. But when I reflect that retributive justice may take place I am made to tremble." And his whole frame shook; but on reflecting a moment, he said, "A member from Louisiana told me the other day, as we were walking to the Capitol, that a few more white frosts would abolish Slavery in Louisiana without Congress having any honor in the premises." He then observed "That there was a great deal of difference between a Pennsylvania farmer (we were all Pennsylvanians) and a Louisiana Planter. That the farmers were virtually the bone and sinews of government, that they were beholden to nothing but Providence and their own industry for the support of themselves and families, that from the proceeds of their labor they maintained themselves, and the surplus they take to market; if they get a good price, very well, if not they were not materially affected, for they are careful to reserve enough for their own wants, and they have only to retrench their expenditures in the mere conveniences and superfluities of life out of their surplus, neither of which are absolutely necessary. But not so with the Louisiana Planter who has nothing to depend upon but his slaves and his crop. For the necessities of life for himself, his family, and his slaves, he is dependent upon the North, the East, and the West. Take away his crop by a frost or a blight or anything else, and he is in a dilemma. He has no dependence, his slaves especially, are an incalculable burden to him. Hence it was that the richest planters were ruined." He concluded his remarks prophetically by observing that the mighty master of Slavery was tottering under the immense pressure of agents that are very much out of the control of men.

AN ANECDOTE OF THOMAS SHILLITOE.

[Thomas Shillitoe (1754-1836) was one of the best known Friends of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He traveled widely in Great Britain, on the Continent, and in North America. He was one of those Friends who had "remarkable

experiences," and his "Journal," published in full by his special request, has many most interesting and even entertaining accounts of his experiences, and of interviews with men and women of all classes from the monarch to the peasant. His visit to America was made when he was past seventy. He played a prominent part during the years 1827-1829, and being very strongly evangelical in his views he roused, it might almost be said, the resentment of those who differed from him, the fact that he was an Englishman adding to the feeling.¹ He was almost exactly three years in America, as he landed 9th month 8, 1826, and sailed for England on his return, 8th month 8, 1829. During his stay he visited all or nearly all of the meetings of Friends in America.

He was a reformer and especially strong against liquor dealing and drinking and slavery. He personally spoke to liquor dealers, slave-owners and slave-dealers, and did not hesitate to tell President John Quincy Adams in a personal interview of the evils in America which needed redress. But what he said was so simply and sincerely put that he rarely gave offence. He used very plain language, and it is reported that he once told the Friends in a New York City meeting that "The Devil is so near some of you that I can hear the swish of his tail."

The incident related in the following account without doubt took place on Thomas Shillitoe's first visit to Nantucket, where he landed 6th month 26th, 1827. It reveals his eccentric qualities.—EDITOR.]

Some time in the earlier half of the nineteenth century, Thomas Shillitoe visited the Island of Nantucket. He went unattended, and, landing on the wharf, asked to be shown to the house of a Friend. It happened that on the wharf, with others, was the son of one of the members of Friends' Meeting who was known to entertain many visiting Friends. To his house Thomas Shillitoe was promptly taken, and the family being at dinner, they went directly into the dining-room, where with a simplicity

¹ The character and extent of the personal feeling existing at the time is very fully shown in Shillitoe's Journal.

which was a marked characteristic of the man, Friend Shillitoe himself drew a chair to the table, saying as he sat down, "I eat neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, but would like a few of those beans." His visit on the Island was a forceful one, and his influence became traditional, and the generations which followed learned to venerate the man and his works. A drawing in miniature of Thomas Shillitoe and of Elizabeth Robson² framed hang upon the library wall of a great-granddaughter of the Friend with whom he "lodged" in Nantucket.

Great as he was in his spiritual influence, his timidities were very marked, and it is reported of him that he always ran over a bridge.³

TESTIMONIAL OF SELECT SCHOOL TO SARAH EDDY, 1804.

[The following document has come into the possession of the editor, and seems worthy of insertion in the BULLETIN. The original is on a single sheet of letter paper, and is carefully written in a distinct regular hand, while the signatures are for the most part in the unformed writing of youth. It is not clear what school is referred to in this paper, but it may have been one under the care of Arch Street Meeting. The rather formal and stilted style of the testimonial suggests the idea that one of the teachers may have been consulted when it was drawn up. Sarah Eddy has not been identified.—EDITOR.]

² Elizabeth Robson was a prominent English Friend who was in America at the same time as Thomas Shillitoe.

³ It is to be regretted that a better life of Thomas Shillitoe has not been written. The original "Journal," edited by A. R. Barclay, two volumes, London, 1839, has much repetition, and would be far more attractive if at least one-third were omitted. William Tallack, in 1867, published "Thomas Shillitoe, the Quaker Missionary and Temperance Pioneer," London, but it leaves much to be desired, and is out of print. Two or three tracts also have been written concerning him.

THE TESTIMONIAL.

Our esteemed Schoolmate Sarah Eddy being about to leave for Great Britain, we are induced from her orderly conduct whilst with us, to give her a few lines as a token of regard, accompanied with sincere wishes for her safe arrival at the destined Port, and that the distance which will part us, may not cancel that friendship, which commenced in youthful days at school.

Signed by the pupils of Select School 10th mo. 29th, 1804.

Mary Ann Eddy	Hannah Bacon	Martha Trasel
Susanna Vaux, jur.	Hannah Willis	Sarah Sheppard
Hannah Howell	Ruth James	Hannah Perot
Eliza H. Sansom	Mary Pearson	Sarah Poultney
Esther Fisher	Margaretta Price	Eliza Russell, junr.
Jane Clark	Ann Bryant	Hannah Griffiths
Abby Griffiths	Rebecca W. Morris	Elizabeth Shoemaker
Mary Harlan	Hannah L. Howell	Susan Smith
Mary Lewis	Hannah Richardson	Sarah Yarnall
Lydia Poultney, junr.	Rebecca Drinker	Ann Collins
Rebecca C. Thompson	Ann Hopkins	Mary Taylor, junr.

ELIZABETH HOOTON, "FIRST QUAKER WOMAN
PREACHER" (1600-1672).¹

Those who have attempted any research in regard to this earliest woman minister among Friends will appreciate this carefully prepared historical monograph with the suggestive and informing notes by Norman Penney.

It seems at first thought rather extraordinary that over two hundred and forty years have been allowed to pass, and a life

¹ "Elizabeth Hooton, First Quaker Woman Preacher (1600-1672)." By Emily Manners, with notes, etc., by Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.Soc. London, Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, E. C. Supplement No. 12, Journal of Friends' Historical Society, 1914. 9x6, viii, 95 pp. 4s.

so devoted and vigorous, and one occupying a distinctively leading position, should have been left with such limited biographies. But as we turn the pages of this sketch, we are soon impressed with the amount of diligent research and labor which has been necessary to sift out and arrange, in consecutive periods, the unusual events of her strenuous life.

The supplement, containing less than one hundred pages, is divided into four chapters, which treat respectively of Elizabeth Hooton's "Early Services in England, First Visit to New England, Second Visit to New England and Closing Years." Exhaustive examination of Nottinghamshire Parish Registers and search of Skegby Manor Rolls, bring to light some interesting family data. Before meeting with George Fox in 1646-7, Elizabeth Hooton seems to have been in membership with the Baptists, and from some evidence was probably a preacher among them before she became the "First Woman Preacher Among Friends."

From the beginning of her public services "bonds and persecutions awaited her," and in her later life cruelties so severe that it seems unbelievable for a woman of her age to endure them and survive. Elizabeth Hooton had an intense temperament, and, in those sad days of religious intolerance, the bitter spirit of the times developed a type of speech that was more fervid than courteous, and her denunciations of wrongs were often forcibly expressed.

There is a freshness and personal coloring to some of her early letters given, that is decidedly pleasing, especially those written from "Yorke" and "Linckoln Castell," telling of the sad conditions of the English prisons. These show her intelligent grasp of the subject and the practical character of her suggestions, and her biographer fittingly says:

"Her protest against strong drink, her plea for the separation of the sexes and for the employment of the prisoners, read more like an appeal from Elizabeth Fry, two centuries later."

There is a vein of true pathos in her recital of the terrible persecutions and inhumanities witnessed during her New Eng-

land visits. That she so frequently seemed to rise superior to all adverse conditions is marvelous.

The closing chapters of the monograph show how thoroughly the biographer is in sympathy with her subject, especially in her account of Elizabeth Hooton's third and last voyage with Elizabeth Miers in the "*Catch Industry*," as one of George Fox's little missionary bands of thirteen Friends. The crossing was long and tedious. Eight weeks to Barbadoes! The "Cabines" were cramped, and there were days of oppressive mid-summer heat. But though over 70 years old, Elizabeth Hooton with surprising energy took up her work on this island, writing letters and "giving her testimony concerning Truth." After three months here, she, with George Fox and others, passed to Jamaica. Here, while in the midst of active religious service, she was taken ill and very suddenly died. The event is thus touchingly noted by the author:

"And so, in the thick of the fight, far from her home in the quiet Nottinghamshire village she 'fell on sleep.' Though her story is so far removed from our own time, something of that peace enters into our souls, in the knowledge that her long and strenuous life ended in a great calm."

DEATH OF GEORGE VAUX (1832-1915).

Just as the BULLETIN is going to press, information has been received of the sudden death of George Vaux (1832-1915) on Fourth month 20. He was one of the founders of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, and was always an interested member. He was perhaps the best informed Friend in Philadelphia on the history and associations of its most interesting buildings and institutions. The interment was on the 23d instant in the old Morris graveyard at Bryn Mawr, Pa., by the side of his wife, who was Sarah Morris.

His interest in things historical will be much missed by our Society.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1915.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Society was held on the evening of Second month 23, 1915, in the Friends' Meeting House, Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, with about seventy-five members present.

The Treasurer's report showed a balance in the treasury of \$166.67 on First month 10, 1915.

The Nominating Committee presented a report, which was satisfactory, and the nominees were elected. (See page 57.)

Amelia M. Gummere made an interesting report regarding the new edition of John Woolman's Journal. The work of collation of the different manuscripts has been completed. Most of the persons mentioned in the Journal have been fully identified, and investigations are being made in England which will doubtless throw much additional light on John Woolman's visit to England and his last days. It has been thought that no relic of any residence of John Woolman was now in existence, but papers have been discovered which make it very probable that he did reside in a house now at Mount Holly. It is likely that it will seem best to include the Essays of John Woolman in the volume to be published. This would delay the publication a few months, but the volume would have greater interest and value, as it would give all the writings of Woolman known to be in existence. As there are comparatively few of these, the book would not be of undue size.

Caroline W. Smedley, delegate from the Society to the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, held at Harrisburg, First month 21, 1915, reported her attendance, and that the Federation welcomed the Society as one of its members.

Watson W. Dewees suggested the desirability of the Society having an executive secretary who could devote more time to

developing and furthering the interests of the Society. The subject was referred to the favorable consideration of the Council.

The President introduced Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson, principal of the Central High School of Philadelphia, who addressed the Society on "Fragments of Early Philadelphia History."

OFFICERS OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1915-1916.

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BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

The Life of Robert Spence Watson. By his nephew, Percy Corder. Illustrated. London, Headley Brothers, 1914. 9x6¼. 327 pp. 10s. 6d.

Three times within eighteen months has it fallen to the lot of the BULLETIN to review the biography of a British Friend distinguished for his participation in public and political life. It is a worthy trio—John Bright, John Edward Ellis, and now, Robert Spence Watson—each has been a credit to his country, and a man to be held up as an example to follow in straightforwardness, earnestness and unselfishness.

Robert Spence Watson (1837-1911) was by inheritance, upbringing, and choice of residence a north of England man. He was a lifelong resident of Newcastle-on-Tyne or its suburbs, and was one of its most honored citizens. He declined all state or municipal office, believing that he could be of more service to his city and country by being free and untrammelled. He was a remarkable instance of a man being a party leader of great influence in his party, and yet maintaining throughout his active public life, lasting over thirty years, the highest ideals of personal, social and political life, and being honored and respected by men of all ranks and parties. He was always a strong Liberal, a staunch advocate of education, freedom, all moral causes; and also an Irish Home Ruler by conviction.

He numbered among his friends all the great Liberals of the latter part of the nineteenth century, and was intimate, among others, with John Bright, John Morley, Sir Wilfred Lawson, Earl Grey, Sir Edward Grey, Joseph Cowen and James Bryce.

He was not simply a politician, but was also deeply and actively interested in all matters of public welfare, literary, educational, scientific and social. He was arbiter in many labor disputes, and had the reputation of having satisfactorily settled more labor disputes than any other man in the north of England. He was concerned in more than one hundred cases of this kind.

The book is a study, not a normal biography, for it is not written chronologically, but the reader is given pictures of the man from different points of view, such as: "Friendships and Hospitality," "Educational Work," "The Arbiter in Council," "Political Life," "The National Liberal Federation," etc. The result is satisfactory in many ways, but it does not trace the growth of the man from year to year, nor does it afford much idea of his inner life and interests. The literary style of the author is sometimes infelicitous; but, after all deductions are made, it must be recognized as a truthful picture of a noble life. A number of interesting portraits and other illustrations, a bibliography, and a good index are valuable features.

The Annual Monitor for 1915. Being an Obituary of the Members of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, from October 1, 1913, to September 30, 1914. John Bellows, Eastgate, Gloucester, 1914. 5½x3½. Pp. x, 207. 1s. 6d.

This is the one hundred and third issue of this publication. The general character of this annual is so well known that little comment is needed. Owing to ill-health, Francis A. Knight (since deceased), the late editor, resigned, and Joseph J. Gill, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, was appointed his successor. There are fewer names than usual which are familiar to American Friends. Only those of Joel Bean, and Helen B. Harris (wife of J. Rendel Harris) have been noted.

In reading the sketches in this book one cannot fail to be impressed with the work of many lives scarcely known outside their own town or neighborhood, and yet lives which have been a power for righteousness. It is such men and women who are the salt of the earth. Twenty-two portraits add to the interest of the little volume. Of the 299 entries, 160 are of deaths at an age over seventy.

The Free Spirit, Realisations of Middle Age, with a Note on Personal Expression. Henry Bryan Binns. London, 1914. A. C. Fifield, 13 Clifford's Inn. New York, B. W. Huebsch, Fifth Avenue, 1914. 175 pp. 12 mo. \$1.50.

This is a book difficult to review with satisfaction either to the reviewer or reader. It is an exposition in verse and prose of the author's views respecting individual freedom of thought and action, and the right relation to be preserved regarding other persons. Perhaps a few quotations will best indicate the author's meaning. "Freedom for the individual is the realisation, the achieving of his inner purpose. But that is precisely his function as a member of the whole." (Page 143.) "Freedom depends upon individualisation. It is the one foundation upon which a permanent human structure can be raised." (Page 158.) "The free man keeps his place in the common purpose." (Page 164.) "He is distinct but not hostile, he refuses to conform in order that he may contribute." (Page 165.) The same doctrine is set forth in the verse which is sometimes obscure, and not infrequently guiltless of melody. Unrhymed verse (if all of it may be called verse) needs clear, vital thought and melody of some kind, to make it live. Were the following lines written as prose, one could hardly suspect them of being intended for verse:

THE PINES.

Wet, southwest gale, tumultuous, bough-snapper!
 Weighting the branches with rain to take them at a disadvantage,
 Rough playfellow, from whose grip
 The pine-stems gleam all strange and wonderful,
 Luminous as a Chinese silk with green and sulphur lichen, and shining
 with bright nimble drops,
 They do not grudge you a few broken branches! (Page 85.)

The following is in his best style:

FILIAL PIETY.

Would you have him return and remain
 In the place where your failure abides,
 You whom he loves, and is fain
 To ease, and comfort your pain?
 Or shall he go forth with great strides
 Towards that light afar off you, that hides
 The goal that you failed of attaining—
 That he too must fail of, remaining ——? (Page 76.)

In My Youth. From the Posthumous Papers of Robert Dudley.
 Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1914. 9x5, x, 493 pp. \$1.35.

This is an anonymous story, for "Robert Dudley" is a pseudonym. Its object is to picture life in the backwoods of Indiana in the '40's or '50's, and more particularly life among the Friends, mostly emigrants from North Carolina. In the main the author is doubtless fairly accurate in the picture of frontier life with its scantiness of living, its rudeness of surroundings, its ignorance and dislike of the world outside, and its narrowness of religious belief or perhaps its absence of spiritual religion. There is some inconsistency, however, in pronunciation and language. The intelligence of the head of the family and his broadening in so marked a way after he was fifty, hardly tallies with the ignorance of the rest of the family and his apparently easy acceptance of it. Neither does it seem consistent to speak by name of Barnabas Hobbs, a well-known Indiana Friend of the last generation, and in the same breath of an "English Friend," Benjamin *Seafoam*, when Benjamin *Seebohm*, of England, did visit Indiana in the period depicted. Why should the real name be used in the one case and a transparently modified one in the other?

Whether the author intends the reader to infer that the Quakerism

of the book was typical of the Quakerism of Indiana at the time, is not clear. If he does, there must have been many striking exceptions, for the documents issued by Indiana Yearly Meeting in the same period are certainly equal to those of any contemporary Yearly Meeting in America.

The actual story is slight. It is that of the growth from childhood to youth amid such surroundings as have been already indicated, of an intelligent, imaginative, sensitive, inquiring, but timid boy. The book will be most appreciated by those who live in the "Middle West" near the scene of the story. The author would seem to be one who, familiar with one type of Quakerism in his youth, had left the Society in early manhood, and was not acquainted with other phases.

Elizabeth Hooton, First Quaker Woman Preacher (1600-1672). By Emily Manners, with Notes, etc., by Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., London, Headley Brothers, 1914. Supplement 12 to the Journal of the Friends' Historical Society. 9x5, viii, 95 pp. (American Agents, Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East Twentieth Street, New York; Grace W. Blair, Media, Pa.)

A review of this valuable work will be found elsewhere in the present number of the BULLETIN.

Friends and the War. Addresses Delivered at a Conference of the Society of Friends and Others, Held at Llandudno, September 25 to 30, 1914. 1s., net.

The Early Friends and War. An Historical Study. By Frederick W. Pim. Price, 6d.

The Church's Opportunity in the Present Crisis. By Henry T. Hodgkin, M.A. Price, 2d.

The European War. By the editor of the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*. Price, 2d.

Foundations of National Greatness. By William Charles Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B. Third special edition. Cloth, 2s., net.

Christ and Peace. A Discussion of Some Fundamental Issues Raised by the War. Edited by Joan M. Fry. Cloth, 2s., net.

A Quaker View of the War. By Henry T. Hodgkin. Price, 1d.

William Penn's Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe. Reprinted from the original edition. John Bellows, Gloucester. Price, 2d.

The above named books and pamphlets have all been issued since the beginning of the great European War. They are but examples of others of like character which have been called forth during the terrible crisis in Europe. They represent the Quaker views of war and peace. Prob-

ably there has never been a time since the beginning of the Society of Friends that the subjects of war and peace from a religious and spiritual point of view have been more ably and fearlessly treated. It can hardly be doubted that these and other publications of similar character will have a wide and lasting influence for peace. All are published or handled by Headley Brothers, London, and they may be secured through Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East Twentieth Street, New York City.

A Quaker Apostle. In Memoriam. John T. Dorland. By Wm. King Baker. Gaspereau, Cumberland Park, Acton, W. London, 1914. 7½x5. 45 pp. Illustrated.

A Forest Idyll and Other Poems. By Wm. King Baker. London, Gaspereau, Cumberland Park, Acton, W. 1914. 7½x5. 106 pp. Illustrated.

These little books are essays in verse on Friendly and nature themes by the author of "A Quaker Warrior, William Hobson," "Acton," and other works. They will be most attractive to those who are familiar with the persons and scenes described.

Friends Ancient and Modern. London, Headley Brothers. 1d. each.

The latest issue of this excellent series of tracts is "Levi Coffin." It is a brief compilation by Augustus Diamond from the autobiography of Levi Coffin, and other sources, of some interesting and exciting incidents in the life of that great abolitionist and officer of the "underground railroad." The work of compilation has been skilfully done.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The number for First month, 1915, like its predecessors, has many articles and items of much interest. That most attractive to American readers will doubtless be the paper by Ella Kent Barnard, of West Grove, Pa., on "The Real People of the House of the Seven Gables." The Journal can be obtained of Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East Twentieth Street, New York.

EPISTLES OF EARLY FRIENDS.—It is welcome news that Supplement No. 13 to the Journal of the Friends' Historical Society will be a collection of about eighty letters of early Friends existing in manuscript in the library of Devonshire House. The whole collection of which the eighty are a part, will "be copied and printed *verb. et lit.*," and will be published as supplements to the Journal. The subscription price for No. 13 will be three shillings (75 cents), to be raised after publication to four shillings and six pence (\$1.25).

"DEED OF MANUMISSION TO A FEMALE SLAVE, 1826."—Know all men by these presents that I Wills Cowper, of the county of Nansemond, State of Virginia & at present in Emmittsburg in the county of Frederick, in Maryland, for and in consideration of faithful services rendered me by a certain female slave aged about 18 years of a very light complexion, with blue eyes and light hair,

named Sally, and further, from considerations of Humanity, I the said Wills Cowper do manumit, liberate & set free the said above named slave. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 20th day of September. Upon this condition previously to be performed by her, that she binds herself, or is bound as an apprentice to some respectable person of the Society of Friends with the consent of Ellis Yarnall of the City of Philadelphia and State of Pennsylvania, and until said act of binding as an apprentice is performed by the female slave Sally this paper writing to be and remain an (illegible) in the hands of the said Ellis Yarnall before mentioned.

WILLS COWPER (Seal.)

Test Henry G. Waters.

The above and foregoing paper writing was duly acknowledged before me a Justice of the Peace for the town of Emmittsburg before mentioned by the Subscriber thereto Wills Cowper in proper person September 20th 1826.—Henry G. Waters.

Ellis Yarnall (1757-1847) was a prominent and valued Friend of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The act of apprenticeship was doubtless needful as the slave was only eighteen. The fact that the manumission "paper writing" came down in the Yarnall family raises some doubt as to whether the stipulation mentioned in the deed was fulfilled.

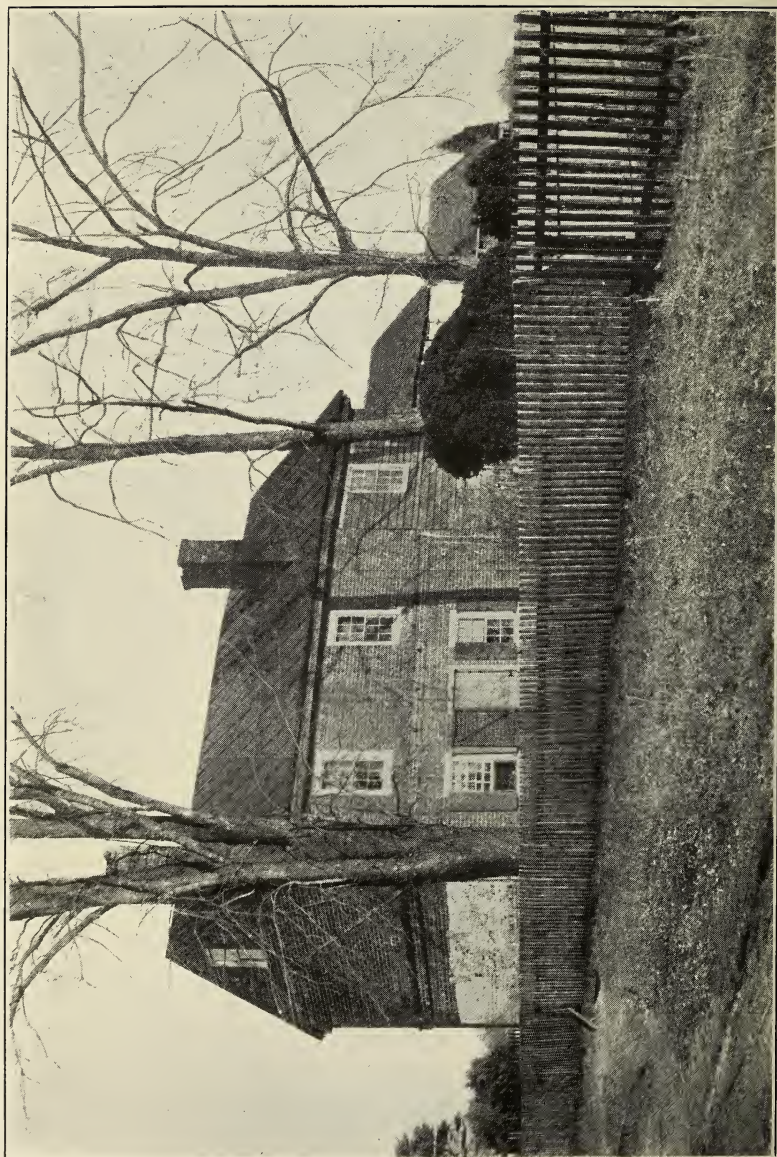
YELLOW FEVER IN PHILADELPHIA, 1793.—Extract from a letter of Thomas Say, of Philadelphia, dated 5th mo. 6th, 1794, and written to Alice Needham, Salem, Massachusetts, relating to the epidemic of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia, during the summer and fall of 1793. "We had an awful visitation of sickness in this city (the Yellow Fever) last Fall; it began in the 8th month, and continued till the beginning of the 11th month; it appeared indeed, my dear friend, as if the Lord had given orders to the destroying Angel to go forth; during which time it was thought 5000 were removed thereby, of most ages and ranks of People, but particularly of the young and rising generation. . . .

"My son Doctr' Say, after having attended a vast number of the Sick, was taken with the disorder himself, and was reduced so low that his life was dispaired (sic) of, but it pleased the Lord to restore him again, but his dear Wife and lovely daughter near 15 years of age were carried off by it during his sickness, which was truly a sore affliction to him and us. . . .

"When I take a view of the world and contemplate the confusion which is therein, of wars and fightings, I am almost ready to conclude, that a great, a very great work is upon the wheel, and that something exceedingly important may soon come out of it, let us, therefore, stand still and see the salvation of God. It appears indeed as if the prophecies

were fast fulfilling. Nation rising against nation over the earth, producing general convulsions, which may ultimately terminate in general peace; it seems truly sometimes, as if that grand day of universal peace had begun to dawn, and altho the hearts of men appear to be obdurate and selfish, yet the power of the Lord is fully sufficient, in ancient language, even of these stones to raise up children to Abraham."

CHARLES KINGSLEY AND YOUNG FRIENDS, 1857.—A young American in 1857 wrote to Kingsley asking the name of the author of "School Days at Rugby," then recently published anonymously (1856), and mentioning that a relative of the inquirer, a Friend, had read the book with much pleasure, but regretted the emphasis laid upon force, and the apparent approval of fighting among boys. In reply, Kingsley wrote: "The author of 'Tom Brown' is a Mr. Hughes, Barrister at Law, an old pupil of Arnold's, and son of Jno. Hughes, Esq., of Donnington Priory, Bucks, an old friend and correspondent of Walter Scott's. I am delighted that a Friend can appreciate the book; my feeling is that just the element in it which is, in his eyes, what is unsafe, is the very one which young Friends want, viz.: that *thumos* or fierceness, which is (so Plato says) the root of all virtues, which may be turned and made useful for God as much as any other faculty, and which all the noblest Friends I have heard of have possest."



HOUSE ON BRANCH STREET, MOUNT HOLLY, NEW JERSEY. BUILT BY JOHN WOOLMAN, 1771.

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia

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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Haverford, Pa.
All dues and subscriptions should be paid to Mary S. Allen, Secretary-Treasurer, 24 West Street, Media, Pa.
Subscriptions, \$1.00 per annum. All members receive the BULLETIN free.

THE JOHN WOOLMAN MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

BY AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

On the outskirts of Mount Holly, New Jersey, along what was once the Springfield Road, now Branch Street, stands a little old brick house, gable-end to the road, which tradition for a century past has called John Woolman's house. An occasional visitor has been in the way of doing reverence there to the memory of the Quaker philanthropist, and going his way, to be told of the doubt as to Woolman's ownership. Several years ago the New Jersey Legislature started a movement to purchase the quaint old place as a Woolman Memorial, but failing to find any deed for his purchase, that body gave up the attempt. Several private individuals have from time to time become enthusiastic over the possibilities of such a memorial to Woolman, but until the present, nothing has been accomplished.

During the past year, while at work on the Journal (which, it is hoped, will be published during the coming winter), the writer has frequently turned over a page in Woolman's private account book,¹ to which was stitched, with a bit of silk, a small paper in Woolman's handwriting. It is a memorandum headed "Specifications for Building a Brick House, 1771." The page to which it was sewed, already threatening to tear away, contained the payment made to various workmen who furnished the bricks, made the great iron door-hinges, did the mason work or glazing, etc. Upon examining the paper one day last winter, the sudden thought arose that these dimensions were very curiously close to those of the house in Mount Holly. A prompt visit there proved the identity of the building at once. Every item was exact; not an inch variation was found in the measurements, and the iron strap-hinges on the doors, the situation of fireplaces and stairways, and even the number of panes of glass in the small windows in the attic, were all as described in these specifications.

¹ Woolman's Manuscript folio of his Journal (final copy), his private account books, marriage-certificate and letters are now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

This was the confirmation of a persistent tradition, but the present disturbed period hardly seemed the proper time to ask for contributions for its purchase, although no birthplace or other home of Woolman now exists.

In June last, however, the wife of the Irishman, who for seventeen years has lived in the old house, sent word that certain alterations were contemplated which, if carried out, would quite ruin its quaint originality. A hurried visit resulted in securing a three months' option on the house and an acre and three-quarters of ground for \$1,800. Three years earlier it could have been had for \$1,200.

The summer months were passed in making appeals for money. Several persons, on account of family association, or through admiration for the life and character of Woolman, came forward voluntarily with contributions and enthusiastic letters; very few of those who were asked for contributions failed to respond. Interest in the undertaking is widespread. New England Friends are almost as largely represented as are those in Philadelphia; and non-Quakers who love Woolman—and they are many—sent in their contributions and appreciation. Ex-President Eliot, of Harvard, in making his contribution, told us that he sent it because of his high appreciation of the character of Woolman. Ex-President Hazard, of Wellesley, wrote, "You are quite right in thinking I am interested in your project of preserving John Woolman's house. I hope that you will have the notes of specification and the memorandum of bills for the workmen, which you say you found in his manuscript, printed, so that they can be kept in the house itself. I am very glad to send a small contribution toward its purchase." One Boston contributor wrote, "I have read and reread Woolman many times." It was gratifying to find how widely appreciated Woolman has been, and the work of raising the necessary funds therefore became an agreeable one, since almost every letter brought some cordial word of encouragement. On the date set for the purchase, all the money was in hand. The deed was signed on October 9th, and the property is secured.

How shall this property be held? The Friends' Historical

Society is not incorporated and therefore cannot hold property. New Jersey laws are more rigid than those of some other States in this respect, and it was deemed wiser to form an independent association. This has been done, the contributors being the original members. Trustees, of whom a majority must be residents of the State of New Jersey, have been appointed, and the Certificate of Incorporation has been recorded. As soon as the premises are vacated, repairs, which are greatly needed, may be begun.

The spirit of John Woolman would be little revered or understood if this house, hereafter to be known as the John Woolman Memorial, were to be of interest merely to the antiquarian. Valuable as the historical associations are, the Act of Incorporation recites that it shall also be preserved for "the purposes of social service in the spirit of John Woolman." Just how this object shall be obtained is yet to be decided. Several applications for caretaker are already filed. Two groups of Friends have inquired about the possible use of the house for week-end conferences. Its size, however, precludes many over-night guests, and much thought and some money will be needed before it is habitable or comfortable. Two rooms and a lean-to kitchen comprise the lower floor. Each room has a large fireplace, in one of which is still hanging the old *crane*. A corner staircase leads with an abrupt turn to four small bedrooms on the second floor, with all the rafters in the ceilings exposed. A tiny secret cupboard on the first floor and another in a bedroom are the only conveniences of this kind in the house.

A winding staircase leads from the second floor to the attic, one end of which has been partitioned off for a small bedroom. In this attic the present occupant found a quantity of old hats, bonnets, walking sticks and "lots of old papers!" All were remorselessly burned. What the papers were one can only wonder, and regret! An excellent brick-paved and arched cellar stored the winter food and vegetables for the family in the old days, and may do so again. The external appearance of the house admits of making a most attractive spot, when the repairs to chimneys, doors and roof, with fresh painting, are done. No smallest fea-

ture of the house is to be altered, but the essential need is now speedy repair as it stands.

Every visitor notices the lettering on the west side of the house, directly over the entrance door, to which the present wide porch is a recent addition; the holes have never been filled for the beams which held the original little protection over the door, shown in the illustration. These letters are

W
I E
1783

and the puzzle has been solved by the discovery that they stand for Jabez and Esther Woolston, to whom John and Mary Comfort sold this house. More mysterious are curious figures and faint letters on the opposite, or east, side. These have been studied by more than one expert, standing on ladders and using magnifying glasses, with care and risk! During the past year some very misguided person has hopelessly ruined the dim marks by scratching deeply with a nail or knife the old date, making it 1751. This mistaken zeal will dishearten the antiquarian!

1771 was the year in which Mary Woolman married John Comfort. Their marriage certificate was beautifully written by her father, and is now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, owners also of the Journal. They lived in this house, and her mother made her home with them until her death. The family later removed to Fallsington, Pennsylvania, John Comfort's former home. These specifications would seem to indicate that the house was built for Mary on her marriage. Very brief must have been her father's residence there, since he sailed on his voyage to England on May 1, 1772, never to return. But a house built by Woolman is more characteristic of him than one in which he lived, built by another; and in the absence of any vestige of his birthplace or other home, we are glad to preserve this as his Memorial.

It is proposed that the caretaker have the house rent free in return for its care and for attentions to visitors. There is an opportunity to raise some special product on the acre and three-

quarters of ground in the rear, which may help in the upkeep of the house. This garden is at present much of a wilderness, although good crops have been raised on it this summer. Fences are down, chimneys need repointing, and the only water supply being from an outside well, the piping of the house from the nearest main, some two blocks distant, must be considered, besides adding a little simple plumbing to the equipment.

All this will cost several hundred dollars more. Does not the need appeal to some of our generous members, who are not as yet represented in the Association?

The Trustees of the John Woolman Memorial Association are:

Isaac Sharpless, Haverford, Pa.; L. Hollingsworth Wood, Mt. Kisco, N. Y.; Charles F. Jenkins, Philadelphia, Pa.; Amelia M. Gummere, Haverford, Pa.; Caroline H. Engle, Mt. Holly, N. J.; Annie L. Woolman Jones, Moorestown, N. J.; Howard M. Cooper, Camden, N. J.; Henry Tatnall Brown, Moorestown, N. J.; C. Walter Borton, Moorestown, N. J.

SOME ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO THE CHEROKEES¹ IN 1839-1840; BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF DAVID E. KNOWLES.

The manuscript of the Journal of David E. Knowles having come into the keeping of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, it has been thought by the Council and Editor that extracts from this simple record will interest the readers of the BULLETIN. There is less introspection than is usual in such diaries, and frequently there is little more than a statement of miles driven and places visited. Such entries will not be printed, except so far as may seem needful to indicate the course of the journey. The earlier parts of the Journal are given in full, to show the discouragements which were encountered at the outset.

¹ The Cherokees were living in what is now the northeast corner of Oklahoma.

It is not proposed to give the account of the visits to the meetings of Friends in the Middle West and elsewhere, but in general to restrict the extracts to those relating to the Indians.

The travelers started from East Farnham, Province of Quebec, Canada, near the Vermont line, and, with the exception of the steamboat ride on their outward journey from Cincinnati to Little Rock, Arkansas, the whole expedition was made by carriage and horses. A nephew of the wife of David E. Knowles writes, "I was but a boy when Uncle David and Aunt Drusilla (who was my mother's sister) started on that long journey. . . . They went away with one horse and came back with two, one of them being the same one they drove away, a fine gray Hambletonian mare. They drove all the way to Iowa, when it was a territory. . . . I think it was a very heroic undertaking for a lame man."

David E. Knowles (1801-1848), the writer of the Journal, was born at Orange, Massachusetts. He was descended from Henry Knowles, who came to Boston in 1635 and went to Portsmouth and Warwick, Rhode Island. Samuel Knowles, of the fifth generation (1762-1832), lived at different times at Monkton, Vermont; Orange, Massachusetts; and East Farnham, Province of Quebec, Canada. He married Sally Woodard, and one of their six children was David E. Knowles, the writer of the Journal. David E. Knowles married Drusilla Hoskins, who accompanied him on his long journey.

An account of the Meeting of East Farnham by Joshua Bull, a member of the Meeting, was published in the BULLETIN for Eleventh month, 1908 (Vol. II, pp. 113-118), supplemented by an account of a visit to East Farnham in 1830 by Dr. Rowland Greene.

David E. Knowles "was acknowledged a minister of the Society of Friends prior to 1836," and "was faithful in his calling." "In the latter part of the year 1839," says the *Memorial*, issued by Fordham Monthly Meeting, 23d of Fourth month, 1849, "after passing through many exercises and conflicts from within and without, he gave up to a prospect, under which he had labored for a length of time, of performing a religious visit

to Friends in Indiana and Ohio, and also to some Indian tribes west of the Mississippi River, and especially the Cherokee nation, in which his wife was nearly united with him."

It is easy to understand how his friends might hesitate to encourage a man in poor health, with one leg almost useless from disease, to undertake such a journey, independently of the inevitable nervous and mental strain involved. However, the two obtained the usual documents of concurrence from Farnham Monthly and Ferrisburg Quarterly Meetings and set out in their own carriage on the 18th day of Eleventh month, 1839, on their long pilgrimage of twenty months. The beginning of the Journal is as follows:

THE ACCOUNT.

Second day, 18th of 11th mo. 1839.—Having obtained the approbation of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and made the necessary preparation, we set out from Robert Hazzard's at Ferrisburg,² reached Salisbury that evening, next day to Danby through several snow-squalls. Stayed with Prince Hill's relations one day on account of the roads; the snow being four inches deep, our beast balled up very much.

21st, Fifth of the week.—The weather cold. We proceeded over Dorset Mountain, the snow about eight or ten inches deep on the top, and not more than two at the foot of the hill on the south. The road rough, yet we rode thirty miles; next day twenty-seven miles, stayed at South Williamstown. Seventh of the week took breakfast at Nathan Biers (?) at Lanesborough. Stayed that night at Great Barrington, having left the snow and rough road about noon. Travelled thirty-seven miles that day. (This is in Massachusetts.)

² Ferrisburg, Vermont. When Canada Yearly Meeting was set off from New York (1867), Farnham Monthly Meeting was retained, Friends in Vermont being so much nearer than any in Ontario. Farnham was the only Meeting in the Province of Quebec. Ferrisburg, the nearest Meeting, was eighty miles distant.

24th, First day.—Rainy, rode twenty-seven miles to reach Richard Carman at Northeast, stayed one day. Third day to Stanfordville (State of New York).

27th, Fourth of the week.—Attended the Creek Meeting. Fifth day at Nine Partners Meeting, stayed at Isaac Thorne's to cleanse our garments. Seventh day went to the Branch Meeting place near Oblong, and had a meeting with the few Friends there in the evening. Friends seemed glad of the visit and we were satisfied on our part.

1st of 12th mo., First of the week.—Rode to New Milford thirteen miles (Connecticut), and attended Friends' Meeting there. Stayed at Lewis Haverland's (Haviland's (?)). Second day rode thirty miles Amawalk (the name of the meeting) Meeting. Stayed at Joshua Putney's (State of New York). My wife had a severe sick headache and soon retired to bed which was unusual for her and I was much alarmed. She was much better in the morning, but, thinking it not best to proceed, we staid at Isaac Mekeel's and attended Meeting at that place on Fourth day and went to Elihu Griffin's.

5th of the month.—Fifth day attended Shappaqua (Chappaqua) Meeting, staid at Samuel Haight's that night.

6th, Sixth day of the week.—Went to Purchase to Ebenezer Haviland's, thinking some of going to York (New York) the next day, but wishing to see Richard Mott,³ and the more so on finding he was one of the Committee on Indian Affairs, we rode back four miles to his house the next day, were kindly received and stayed all night. He seemed to enter deeply into feeling with us in the prospect before us.

8th, First of the week.—Attended Meeting at Purchase and rode again to Ebenezer Haviland's.

Second day.—Rainy so we went to Richard Carpenter's, another of the Indian Committee.

³ Richard Mott (1767-1856) was one of the ablest and most distinguished Friends of the nineteenth century. At the time of this visit he was seventy-two. See BULLETIN, Vol. III, pp. 139, 140.

Third day.—Attended Mamaroneck Monthly Meeting. After our certificates were read a Friend addressed the Meeting, spoke of the greatness of the prospect, and the trials and exercise that must have been passed through in proceeding thus far, and that greater ones must no doubt be experienced if it be carried out. Then spoke of the travels of Daniel Wheeler and others. Now I leave it to the reader to judge what must be our feelings to find our Friends abroad thus brought into feeling with and for us; which was by no means the only case of the kind already met with by us.

12th, Fifth day of the week.—Proceeded to (New) York where we were kindly received at Robert H. Bowne's.

Sixth day.—Several Friends called to see us; some of them were of the Indian Committee; we, being from a remote part, finding ourselves thus circumstanced, felt like mites amongst them, and not a little tired in our minds. And as I was sitting alone, endeavoring after quiet resignation, this language sprang in my mind, "I know thy pride and the haughtiness of thine heart, to see the battle thou art come" (1 Sam. 17: 28); but being favored with composure of mind, and reflecting on the abundant evidence I have been favored with of the right of the day in which we are now going, I felt that with such favor I could go where able warriors despaired, with humble confidence in Him who hath hitherto supported. We spent the evening at ————. In conversation found the Committee, on hearing there was some trouble among the Indians, had concluded that nothing could be done for them at present. I let him know we had no idea of giving back from pursuing our prospect. In reply to some observations made, my wife said, "We have not come here to beg for money." We informed them that if the Committee could with propriety forward us on our way by writing to Committees, or other Friends to the West, by which we could get a readier introduction to the Indians, it would be very acceptable, and if we could be useful to them in forwarding the view of the Yearly Meeting and not infringe on our prospect, we were very free to do it.

14th, Seventh day.—Comfortable in body and mind this morning. Afternoon walked out past the new Meeting House ⁴ to Mary Merritt's, took tea and returned to our lodgings.

First day.—Dined at Henry Hinsdale's; spent the evening at Nathaniel Hawkshurst's. The visit closed with a short opportunity in which his wife, Sarah, gave vent to her feelings which tended much to our encouragement; we returned to our lodgings with thankful hearts. Second day evening, by invitation attended the Meeting for Sufferings where a memorial was directed to the State Legislature on behalf of the colored people of that State; a draught of a memorial to Congress on the subject of Slavery not being produced as expected, it adjourned for two weeks. All of the Indian Committee present stopped at the rise of the Meeting, who saw nothing to do relative to their appointment, or that would help us on our way, and seemed much discouraged about effecting much agreeable to the views of the Yearly Meeting. One Friend had considerable to say on the difficulty of the journey and the unsettled state of the Indians, and very much regretted that any Friend should think of going among them at present; and said to this effect, "If our Friends could feel to give up their prospect and return home, I should think it the best thing they could do." But my feelings could not accede to that, but, believing it right, answered to this amount, "Such have been my feelings under the prospect and such the evidence I have felt of the right of it, that I have no idea of giving up the pursuance of it at present," and so we parted.

11th, Third day.—Several Friends called to see us, whether from an idea of what passed last evening I do not know, but they were very much concerned for us and spake encouragingly. Next day left (New) York accompanied by our kind and feeling Friend, John Hancock. Some other Friends met us at the boat, who parted with us in a feeling manner.⁵ We landed at Eliza-

⁴ This was the meeting-house on Orchard Street, built in 1839. It was occupied until 186—, when the house on Twentieth Street was built.

⁵ When it is remembered that these two Friends expected to drive in their own carriage from New York to what is now the northeast

bethtown Point and parted with J. Hancock. Proceeded alone to Jacob Parker, Rahway, nine miles, attended Monthly Meeting next day. Then to Stony Brook, Sixth day, Joseph D. Shotwell being pilot. We were received very kindly at David Clark's by his wife Julia Ann and his sister Elizabeth Kirkbride.

21st, Seventh day.—Rode to Philadelphia, forty miles, Isaac Craft going with us. We reached John Paul's about six in the evening. We there met with Jacob Green of Ireland, and his companion James Smith of Miami Meeting, Ohio, all in health.

22nd, First day.—Attended the Meeting for the Northern District both before and after noon. The day closed with earnest breathings to the Lord for preservation in the right.

Second day.—The storm that was severe yesterday is not over, the snow about eight inches deep. The weight of the mountains seeming to be upon us and no way to escape, we endeavor to seek for quiet and patient resignation, trusting in the Lord alone. Several Friends called to see us, among them Robert Scotton (?), George Elkinton, Ann Scattergood, widow of Joseph, son of Thomas Scattergood. The day closed and the storm not over within or without.

24th, Third day.—Felt much inclined to leave the city this morning, but no way for it, Friends thought best for us to stay to Monthly Meeting. Jacob Green seemed to feel much for us and rather advised to call Friends together and lay the subject before them, saying that such was the difficulty that we must meet with perhaps the will might be taken for the deed and we released. This we endeavored to weigh as well as we could, but did not feel so to do, trying as things were. On being about to leave the city, a Friend came to me and expressed much feeling for us and said he believed it was the general mind of Friends as far as they were acquainted with circumstances that it was hardly warrantable and "was it my own case," said he, "con-

corner of Oklahoma, doubtless with little appreciation of the fatigue, exposure and risks before them, the position of the New York City Friends can easily be understood.—EDITOR.

sidering the difficulties I should think almost forbidding, but I cannot judge for you, each one must judge for themselves, I feel much for you and desire your preservation," also said he did not doubt the sincerity. So we left the city about four o'clock, and rode twelve miles to Benjamin Maule's, Edward Richie very kindly going with us. The snow was so much drifted once we had to leave the road some rods we rejoiced that we had left the city and got on our way again.

25th, Fourth day.—Rode sixteen miles, dined at George Ashbridge's. E. Richie left us. We rode eight miles more and stayed at Joseph Bailey's in Downingtown.

Fifth day.—Rode twenty miles to Isaac Evans', the turnpike only passable because of the drifts. The toll was three cents per mile.

Sixth day.—Started again, Isaac Evans with us; we soon found our wagon wanted a little repairs, and a storm being at hand, we returned with our friend to his house, a heavy rain fall. We attended their Meeting at Lampeter First day.

30th, Second day.—The weather fair and the pike good, we set off. Rode to Columbia, dined at Jonathan Pusey's, then crossed the Susquehanna by bridge one mile and twenty rods long, then went to little York. Twenty-eight miles this day, the snow twelve inches.

Third day.—Rode eighteen miles, the snow grows deeper as we advance towards the mountains.

1840, 1st mo. 1st.—Travelled eighteen miles to the foot of South Mountain.

Fifth day.—To Chambersburg and three miles towards Hagerstown, the road much drifted.

Sixth day.—Turned back to Chambersburg, took the pike towards Pittsburgh; came to the foot of Cove Mountain the snow said to be two feet or more on a level. Saw two wagons, twelve horses each, pass our inn, going up the hill now near sunset.

Seventh day.—Hired a man to go up the hill, it being four miles, and take part of our load. Here we saw a man that was hurt last evening by two wheels of a wagon going over him, he said, carrying twenty-seven hundred yet the leg not broken. Then came down the hill the snow much drifted, the road very narrow and bad. Had to wait two hours in one place for two wagons to pass by going up the hill, twelve horses each. The snow three feet. Rode eight miles this day, met William Fisher from Ohio. Stayed at Meconnetstown (?).

5th, First day.—Travelled fifteen miles. Drusilla (his wife) walked up sideling hill three miles one walk, in all five miles at least.

Second day.—Went sixteen miles. Were stopped two hours between 6 and 9 in the evening for four large waggons to get out of the way, all within half a mile of the inn.

Third day.—Rode six miles and got a sled made to put our wagon on and started about noon.

Fourth day.—Rode fourteen miles and stayed at a dirty place indeed.

Fifty day.—Crossed the Allegheny Mountains, stayed four miles west of Summerstown (Somerset ?).

Sixth day.—Crossed the Laurel Ridge; rode twenty-four miles to Mount Pleasant, Pennsylvania.

Seventh day.—Rainy; left the pike and went towards Brownsville; rode twenty-four miles, stayed six miles east of the town. On taking a retrospect of our journey over the mountains, the many dangers we have been favored to pass unhurt, our hearts were warmed with gratitude, and we felt livingly, though secretly, to praise the holy name of the Lord.

[Our Friends now spent some time visiting the Friends in southwestern Pennsylvania, and crossing the Ohio River at Wheeling, Second month 7, 1840, began to visit Friends in Ohio.]

(To be continued.)

“THE HENRY CLAY INCIDENT AT INDIANA YEARLY
MEETING, 1842,” A LETTER.

BY CHARLES F. COFFIN.

[The following letter regarding a paper in the BULLETIN for Fifth month, 1915, is printed by permission of the writer and the addressee. A few non-essential sentences have been omitted. It is a rare occurrence that so clear a statement, or indeed any statement, could be written by an eyewitness *seventy-three years after* the events described. Our Friend of ninety-four will receive the best wishes of the readers of the BULLETIN.—EDITOR.]

PROFESSOR HARLOW LINDLEY,
Earlham College,
Earlham P. O., Ind.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I have read with great interest your article in the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, of which I am a member, on the Anti-Slavery Separation in Indiana and the Henry Clay incident in 1842. The article shows a great deal of research on your part, and as a whole gives a correct idea of the Separation and of Henry Clay's visit. Some parts of it, however, are quite objectionable, and the quotations you make from the newspapers of the time are wholly unreliable. . . . My brother, Wm. H. Coffin, of Pasadena, and myself are probably the only persons living who could give a full and detailed account of Henry Clay's visit to Indiana Yearly Meeting. I was a young man, twenty-one years of age, living with my father and mother, and my brother was two years younger.

I have written a full account of Henry Clay's visit, and I think you will find a copy of it amongst my papers in your library [Earlham College]. It has been examined and endorsed by my brother William.

The visit of Henry Clay was a notable occasion. He was then the most distinguished man in the United States, known by everyone. My father, Elijah Coffin, was a polished gentleman, and could not omit, when such an individual expressed a desire

to attend our meeting for worship in the morning, to assist him in doing so without any regard to his future life or present view. My father did not keep a coachman, and I acted in that capacity on the occasion; I drove the horses in the carriage in which Henry Clay and my father rode to the meeting-house. When we arrived on the ground, it was a solid mass of human beings—thousands of them, being the Yearly Meeting Sunday and the additional fact of the presence of Henry Clay. It was very difficult for me to get through the crowd; I had to have the horses go on the slowest walk and be very careful to avoid running over someone, as there was a tendency to crowd around the carriage in order to see the distinguished visitor. I drove, however, directly to the north door of the old meeting-house, and my father helped Henry Clay out of the carriage, and was immediately joined by Pleasant Winston, a peculiar and eccentric but very respectable man, brought up in Virginia, but living at that time in Indiana, and a very ardent Whig and friendly to Henry Clay. He rushed forward and took hold of one of Henry Clay's arms, while father had the other, and they helped him through the crowd into the meeting-house.

Father had previously consulted with some Friends, and they thought it best to seat him on the upper seat, where he could be readily seen by all the audience as well as be where he could hear the ministers. Two sermons were preached that day by able ministers—one John Meader, of Providence, and the other Stephen Grellet, an accomplished Frenchman of noble family, and both discourses were able and interesting.

Henry Clay was immediately under the speakers, but turned around in his seat in order to see them. At the close of the meeting, instead of a prominent minister—as is stated in your article—introducing him, it was this same Pleasant Winston, who rushed forward and (very properly, I think) introduced Henry Clay to a number of Friends who desired to speak to him. Of course there were a large number who wished to shake his hand.

Immediately after Meeting, my father escorted Henry Clay to the carriage again, and I drove as directly home as possible; instead of driving around the meeting-house several times to

show off, it was my purpose to get out of the crowd as quickly as possible.

I think the whole incident of Henry Clay's visit, as I look at it now (seventy-three years after it occurred) was wholly unobjectionable, and that the part Friends took in receiving him was simply what was due to a distinguished guest.

In reference to his speech the day before in town, my brother and myself are probably the only persons living who heard it, and who know and remember well all the details of it. It was an eloquent effort, and attracted great attention. I have a condensed summary of it prepared by my brother, who was nearer to him during its delivery than I was.

The incident of the presentation of the petition to him for the liberation of his slaves is properly told in your article, but there was nothing in the whole matter to excite unnecessary comment, excepting the novelty of the occasion and the strangeness of the circumstances which surrounded it.

I also regret that in the preparation of your article you should have found it necessary to quote so largely from the newspapers of the time. One circumstance that you speak of, I think, is wholly incorrect, and that is that Henry Clay was about to leave, "when he came downstairs a considerable number of females, old and young, orthodox and Hicksites, were arranged in a line, along which he passed from one end to the other, giving each an affectionate parting kiss." I think no such circumstance occurred. The young woman, who afterwards became my wife, was a guest in the hotel at the time, and knew all that was going on. There were three bridal couples there, one of the grooms being her brother. When Henry Clay was introduced to them, he promptly kissed the brides. My wife was standing by, and said she was glad she was not a bride, as she did not think it would have been desirable to kiss him.

I will not go over the various quotations you make from the newspapers, as it would be unnecessary; I could only brand them as exaggerated or false.

Recently, when an attempt was made to perpetuate the location of Henry Clay's speech in Richmond, there was no one

living there who could tell, and but one man who had heard it that they could find. It was delivered on a lot then vacant, upon which the Irish Catholic Church now stands; a temporary platform was erected, on which Henry Clay and a number of his friends sat. The grounds were crowded as far as his voice would reach, and even farther. . . .

Very truly your Friend,

CHARLES T. COFFIN.

May 7, 1915, Chicago, Ill.

GEORGE FOX AND SPIRITUALITY.

"The age of George Fox thirsted for spiritual reality. He had found it. Men on all sides were ready to find it as he had. The dales of Yorkshire, and the hills of lake-land, not less than the towns of Midlands, had men in them ready to rejoice in the touch of the spiritual, ready to respond to the movement of the Spirit. See him then arriving on horseback at some farmstead in the hills, or it may be at a country squire's hall. For all his rejection of external aid owing worlds to it. Clad in leather like the Tishbite, what matter that he chose it for hard wear, its significance was quite other. It served him as a friar's cassock served the friar. It struck the note of austere reality. The burning eye, the personality radiating magnetic force, compel men. He gathers them presently into that silence of unified purpose. We can still perceive its psychic powers, its spiritual possibilities, as he leads them, novices though they be, into the inner chambers of their being. From his own tremendous spiritual activity the thought-waves pass from brain to brain. The Spirit descends upon souls tuned to perceive His advent. The story of these early silent meetings is more marvelous than miracle. On one occasion Fox was silent with the people by the space of two hours. Is it any wonder that such a leader could lead where he would? Even that man of iron, the Protector Noll, when he sends for Fox to rebuke him, is moved to admira-

tion and is almost his disciple. Quickly it all crystallized into a system emphasizing such tremendous realities, realities so long forgotten that it is no wonder if mistakes in such a company passed for truth. Here it is, the wonder of wonders, God speaks within the soul, as the Guide and Arbiter of life. He is the Inner Light of every man. Man needs but to be still to hear His voice, or to open the soul's eyes and he may behold Light. Hence grows a splendid perception of human equality and brotherhood, and denunciation of bloodshed and war. Hence, too, a system of worship, the keynote of which lay in the elimination of all outward aids and replacing these by waiting upon the Spirit."

From "The Fellowship of Silence," Chap. IX, pp. 158-160, by Cyril Hephner [a High Churchman]. London, Macmillan & Co., 1915.

BI-CENTENNIAL OF THE NEW GARDEN MEETING— CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

The name New Garden was brought to this country from the north of Ireland. It took root first in southeastern Pennsylvania, and has been carried since to settlements of Friends in the south and west.

On the 18th of last Ninth month occurred the 200th anniversary of the establishment of New Garden Monthly Meeting in Chester County. The day proved one of the fairest, and the company of 2,000 that gathered found that the local committee had left nothing undone to minister to the success of the occasion.

The papers and addresses given were all of a high order, and the participation in the program of a company of some twenty children (members of one or the other meeting) added to the interest. Francis R. Taylor, of Philadelphia, gave the main address at the morning session, and the honors of the afternoon were divided between J. Barnard Walton, of George School, and

J. Mason Wells, of Kennett. Two valuable historical papers were given by Sarah M. Cooper and Truman Cooper, and other shorter addresses completed the program.

The first Friends to settle Pennsylvania naturally made their homes near the Delaware, but they quite as naturally soon moved west among the hills, and as early as 1708 sales of land had been made as far back as New Garden.

At this date, or soon after, the Quarterly Meeting at Chester was composed of fourteen constituent meetings, and where New Garden was "set up" in 1715, these nine meetings became parts of it—Newark, New Garden, Nottingham, Bradford, Sadsbury, Dutch Creek, Hopewell, Fairfax and Warrington.

The most prominent Friend connected with New Garden Meeting in the past was Enoch Lewis. Numerous interesting anecdotes were related of him by more than one speaker. Other family names associated with the meeting's history found themselves respected in meetings of the same name in North Carolina and Ohio.

No record of the proceedings of the meeting on Ninth month 18th is to be published, a fact much to be regretted, but the two historical papers have been printed in successive issues of the *Friend* during Ninth and Tenth months. D. H. F.

WILLIAM PENN'S PRAYER FOR PHILADELPHIA.

The Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia has been engaged this summer in having made, and ready to be properly placed, a large bronze tablet which contains the prayer of William Penn for his city. The suggestion came from Stanley R. Yarnall, and has the approval of Director of Public Works Morris L. Cooke. The proof has been seen by the committee in charge, and it is now before the City Art Jury, who must pass upon it before it can be placed under the tower, at the right side of the north exit from the courtyard of the Municipal Buildings. It is hoped that an early date will see it in place.

The work is being done by Bureau Brothers, of Tioga, and

WILLIAM PENN'S PRAYER FOR PHILADELPHIA • 1684

... AND THOU PHILADELPHIA • THE VIRGIN SETTLEMENT OF THIS PROVINCE • NAMED
BEFORE THOU WERT BORN • WHAT LOVE • WHAT CARE • WHAT SERVICE • AND WHAT TRAVAIL • HAS
THERE BEEN TO BRING THEE FORTH AND PRESERVE THEE FROM SUCH AS WOULD ABUSE •
AND DEFILE THEE • O THAT THOU MAYEST BE KEPT FROM THE EVIL THAT WOULD •
OVERWHELM THEE • THAT FAITHFUL TO THE GOD OF THY MERCIES • IN THE LIFE OF •
RIGHTEOUSNESS • THOU MAYEST BE PRESERVED TO THE END • MY SOUL PRAYS TO •
GOD FOR THEE THAT THOU MAYEST STAND IN THE DAY OF TRIAL • THAT THY CHIL •
DREN MAY BE BLEST OF THE LORD • AND THY PEOPLE SAVED BY HIS POWER...

the cost—\$300—has been defrayed by private subscription, a very cordial response having been made to our appeal.

The Prayer occurs in a letter written by William Penn as he left the city for England, while still in the Delaware, "from on board the *Ketch* Endeavour, ye [12th] 6th mo., 1684." The letter was addressed to "Tho. Lloyd, J. Claypole, J. Simcock, Ch. Taylor and Ja. Harrison, to be communicated in meetings in Pennsylvania, etc., among Friends." Albert Cook Myers, the editor of the forthcoming complete edition of William Penn's Works, writes, "The manuscript has had an adventurous career. After a search of three years, I finally found it in Chile, South America."

The "Prayer" is on the preceding page.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE,

Chairman of Tablet Committee.

Note.—Since the above was in print, it has been learned that the City Art Jury has declined, for unknown reasons, to approve either the tablet or the place suggested. It is believed, however, that a satisfactory location elsewhere will be secured before long.
—EDITOR.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

Quaker Women, 1650-1690. By Mabel Richmond Brailsford. London, Duckworth & Co., 1915. Pp. xii, 340. 8½x5½ in. 7s. 6d.

This book, by a non-Friend, is a distinct contribution to Quaker literature. While warmly sympathetic with her subject, the author does not hesitate to record the failings, frailties and even the excesses of these early "Publishers of Truth." In fact, it is likely that she gives quite as truthful picture as an average Friend would. The author has studied her subject carefully and thoroughly, making ample use of the unequalled collections of the Library at Devonshire House, where she had the invaluable help of Norman Penney and his skilled assistants. Manuscript sources as well as printed have been freely consulted.

Elizabeth Hooton, Margaret Fell, Mary Fisher and Barbara Blaugdone have naturally been extensively dwelt upon. Especially well brought out are the lives, travels and experiences of Mary Fisher and Barbara Blaugdone. The story of Elizabeth Fletcher, of Kendal, who began her service in the ministry before she was fifteen, and died, probably as the result of hard usage, before she was twenty, is a pathetic one.

No one can read this book without a deep sense of what an important place women held in the early days of the Society, and how fully their importance was recognized by Fox and the other leaders, notably so in comparison with other denominations of the same day, and even those of a very much later date. The wonder is such a theme has waited so long for a narrator.

Very few slips have been noticed. In speaking of Mary Fisher's visit to New England, the author writes: "She . . . tasted the first fruits of the persecution which was meted out to her fellow-believers, even to the extremes of mutilation and death, by those who were themselves the survivors of the *Mayflower*." It was the Puritans who settled Boston and Massachusetts Bay; neither the Pilgrims, who came in the *Mayflower* and established the Plymouth Colony, nor their descendants, had any hand in the tragedies enacted in Boston, though it is sad to relate that they did make the Quakers suffer severely in almost every way except by death. Again, the writer is hardly fair to Fox, where, in quoting his tribute to Ann Whitehead, she remarks: "Incidentally, the wild eccentricity of its spelling is a proof of the contempt which he frequently expressed for 'carnal learning'" (p. 261). Fox did not have a contempt for "carnal learning," except as a basis for what claimed to be spiritual teaching. This the author herself admits, where, in speaking of the founding of Ackworth School (1779), she says (p. 332): "This was a recurrence to the policy of Fox, who, in strange contrast to his distrust of college training, had established schools

for boys and girls at Waltham and Shacklewell, desiring that they should be instructed 'in whatsoever thinges was civill and usefull in ye creation.'" More than this, Fox himself was responsible for "An Instruction for Right Spelling, Reading and Writing, 1673."

It is to be regretted that the index is wofully deficient. But these are minor blemishes in a work highly to be praised.

The Fellowship of Silence; Being Experiences in the Common Use of Prayer Without Words. Narrated and interpreted by Thomas Hodgkin, Percy Dearmer, L. V. Hodgkin, J. C. Fitzgerald, together with the Editor, Cyril Hephner. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1915. Pp. vi, 241. 7½x5 in.

Of the authors of this attractive volume, two, the late Thomas Hodgkin and his daughter, L. Violet Hodgkin, are Friends; the others are High Church Anglicans or Catholics, as they call themselves. All meet on the common platform of recognition of the Inward Voice and Inward Communion of the Spirit. It is a remarkable book, and one which could hardly have been issued fifty years ago, or even less. "No one of us," says the Editor, "has sought to write as from some common ground, but solely on the basis of his own full convictions. Not even the Editor takes responsibility for the opinions of his different contributors. . . . It is some evidence for the power of that fellowship [the 'Fellowship of Silence'] that Anglican can address Anglican and Quaker address Quaker within the covers of the same book, and each the other, with no proselyting end in view, only the desire to enrich our knowledge of the virtues of silence in prayer, and to know in real sympathy of heart something more of each other's thoughts and prayers."

Quaker readers will find much to dissent from in parts of the book, but more with which to agree. There can be no doubt that the Society needs many of the lessons taught and implied in this volume.

Since the above was written, a second impression has been published with an introduction by the Bishop of Winchester.

Town Planning, with Special Reference to the Birmingham Schemes. By George Cadbury, Jr. With illustrations and maps. Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, etc., 1915. Pp. xvi, 201. 9x6 in. \$3.25.

This book appeared early in the year. While chiefly a study of the conditions around Birmingham, it contains many valuable suggestions and information on the general subject of town planning. Naturally the experience gained at Bournville has been largely drawn upon.

Foundations of National Greatness; a Scheme of Study. By Wm. Chas. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.D. National Adult School Union, 1 Central Buildings, London, S. W. [1915]. Pp. 62. 7¼x5 in. Pp. 62, interleaved.

This little book is designed to aid members of Adult Schools in gaining "a firmer understanding of the foundations of national strength." The study is carried on by the consideration of such subjects as National Consciousness, Spirit of Freedom, Free Institutions, etc., etc. Each subject is introduced by a "thought-compelling quotation," references are made to a few books, and in various ways suggestion is given for thought and study. A list of low-priced but good books is furnished for reference and reading. Though the work is designed for Englishmen, much that is valuable for American students can be gained from it.

The American College. By Isaac Sharpless, President of Haverford College. Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1915. Pp. xi, 221. 7x4½ in. 60 cents.

This small volume is full of information upon an important subject. It is written in the clear, direct style of the author, and is to be highly commended. Nowhere else can be found a better statement of what the American College—that peculiarly American institution—is. The chapters on "Courses of Study" and "The Function of a College" are particularly valuable at the present time. There might, perhaps, have been a little more direct reference to the colleges of the middle and great West.

Only two typographical slips have been noted; "American's" (p. 126) should be "Americans," and "that" (p. 153, l. 8) should be "than."

Songs of Hope. By Rebecca N. Taylor. Boston, Sherman, French & Co., 1915. 12mo. 28 pp. 75 cents.

This thin volume will be welcomed by many readers of the BULLETIN, as the author is well known to them. The verses are simple, direct and full of feeling.

School Training of Defective Children. By Henry H. Goddard. Yonkers-on-the-Hudson, New York, World Book Co. 8vo. Pp. xii, 97. 90 cents.

Dr. Goddard, a graduate of Haverford College, and a Doctor of Philosophy of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., has given in this book most valuable information and suggestions regarding the training of defectives. Few can speak with greater authority than he. This

is the book for those who wish clear, definite knowledge on the subject, and in moderate compass.

The Present-Day Message of Quakerism. By Charles M. Woodman. Pilgrim Press, Boston [1915]. 7½x5 in. Pp. ix, 106. \$1.00.

This volume consists of four "messages given to the congregation, which, week by week, assembled for worship in the Friends' Church in Portland, Maine" [Preface]. They are a clear statement of what may be called the moderate modern view of the "Quaker Message" of to-day. The subjects are, "The Basis of the Quaker Faith, The Guide of the Quaker Life, The Creed of the Quaker Church, The Field of the Quaker Message." There is much to commend, and little to criticize. If all Friends' Meetings carried out the principles laid down in this volume, the Society would be a far greater power for good.

The Quest for Truth. By Professor Silvanus P. Thompson, F.R.S. Headley Brothers, London, 1915. 7½x5 in. 128 pp. 1s. Swarthmore Lecture, 1915.

This volume is worthy to take a place beside its predecessors. The subject is one which should claim the attention of every thoughtful person. As has been said of it by another, "It is a storehouse of fact, suggestion and illustration, alike edifying and stimulating."

Not the least important feature of the lecture is the statement of the more common "hindrances to the Quest for Truth" which the author gives us: 1, overrespect for venerated authority, and excessive deference to long-established custom; 2, "false humility which blinds men from exercising any independent judgment;" 3, aversion from doubt; 4, "a tendency to temporize, to accept the expedient, rather than share the toil of investigating the evidence;" 5, that which arises from the craving for originality; 6, "carelessness of phrase, inexactness in the habitual use of language, and want of precision and clarity of thought."

The subject chosen is a more general one than others in the same series; it covers a wider field, and naturally the treatment is less spiritual in character. No doubt some will take exception to a few of the lecturer's statements, others will think that there are serious omissions or scanty treatment of important points, but no one can give the lecture a careful perusal without profit.

The Making of a Man. Written under the direction of Richard Mott Jones. Philadelphia, The Dando Company, Publishers [1915]. 7½x5 in. Pp. v, 67.

This little book is by the Head Master of the William Penn Charter School, of Philadelphia. Anything relating to education by a man who has been head of one of the best schools in America for forty years claims attention. The nine brief chapters are full of suggestion. The author, in the Preface, says, "In this little volume I have endeavored to demonstrate the illuminating truth: that science is verifying the precepts of religion; that religion squares with reason, and that the teachings of experience coincide with the teachings of the Gospel." The book is commended to the close attention of teachers, especially the teachers of boys.

"*Friedrich von Logau*," page 62, line 5, should be Friedrich von Logau.

Elizabeth Buffum Chace, 1806-1899. Her Life and its Environment. By Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman and Arthur Crawford Wyman. Boston, W. B. Clarke Co., 1914. 2 vols. 9x6 in. Pp. xxi, 355; xviii, 373. \$5.00.

These volumes have the faults as well as some of the merits of biographies written by near relatives of the one whose life is portrayed. The lack of perspective, the unskilfulness in choosing and rejecting material, the unnecessary details, the personal feeling which causes a failure to recognize that what may be appropriate and acceptable in a social circle is not worthy of perpetuation in a serious book, shows the unpracticed hand on almost every page. On the other hand, the personal, intimate touch adds not unfrequently to the vividness of the portrait. Had the material been more wisely selected, and the whole condensed into a single volume, the work would have been far more effective, as well as more attractive, to most readers.

Those interested in the history of the anti-slavery movement, the early days of Woman Suffrage, and various efforts for the betterment of social conditions, will here find much information. The volumes are well illustrated with portraits.

NOTES AND QUERIES

NEW ENGLAND AND PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETINGS, 1699.—“The Friends & Brethren of Pensilvania have from theire Yearely Meetinge proposed to this Meetinge by our frinds Samuell Jennings & Phineas Pemberton who are now here with us to have A correspondence each with other, either by Epistle or by y^e visit of some frinds from hence if it shall please y^e Lord to put it into theire harts so to doe ^ty^e soe they may heare of y^e Affaire of truth & how truth prospers & for y^e mutual comfort and strength of each other & this meetinge hath generally consented with greate freedome it should be soe.”

From Minutes of New England Yearly Meeting, 1699.

EPIGRAM BY DAVID GARRICK.—The writer has several times been asked for the following story, and having come across it in an old newspaper clipping, he sends it to the BULLETIN for what it is worth. As Garrick died in 1779, the incident, if true, must have taken place before 1780.

“It was reported in 1835 or 1836, I think, in *The Sheffield Iris*, a paper of the well-known Scotch poet, James Montgomery. The scene was the Quaker meeting-house in Sheffield. The lines were attributed to the pencil of

David Garrick, who had been performing in Sheffield. The meeting-house was built on the side of a hill, with the front door and yard facing on one street and the cellar opening on the street below. Garrick, passing, saw the vintner rolling out the casks of wine. He mounted the steps in the alleyway adjoining the meeting-house and looking in saw the Quakers in their quiet ‘Fifth-day Meeting.’ The incongruity struck him forcibly, and he pencilled on the meeting-house door the lines:

“There is a spirit above, and a spirit below;

A spirit of peace, and a spirit of woe;

The spirit above is the spirit of love,

And the spirit below is the spirit of woe;

The spirit above is the spirit divine,

The spirit below is the spirit of wine.

“The Sheffield Quakers needed no further rebuke. They immediately bought the lease from the vintner, paying him back every penny received for five years’ rental, the time the lease had run.”

A SINGULAR BIBLE.—Not long since the writer had the opportunity of examining a Bible

which formerly belonged to a "plain" woman Friend of New York Yearly Meeting in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Bible itself, quarto in size, was published in 1765 by Robert Baskett, of London, an authorized publisher of the Bible at that time. The volume had evidently been well read, but the peculiarity was that the reader had stuck a pin through texts which for some reason attracted her attention. There must have been about two hundred pins thus employed, making some pages look like a paper of pins.

The favorite book was Isaiah, next came Jeremiah, after these Proverbs, Job and Luke. I Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Haggai, Zephaniah and Malachi in the Old Testament, and II Thessalonians, I Timothy, Titus, Philemon, I Peter, II and III John, and Jude in the New Testament, had no pins.

The character of the verses thus marked varies greatly, some evidently reflecting the feelings of the reader at the time, others conveying little or no information, and some raising the question for what possible reason they should have been marked.

The general tone of the verses chosen is sombre rather than hopeful, and the great number marked in the Old Testament is a true indication of the general character of the religious thought of the day.

SWEDENBORGIAN BIBLE.—It may not be generally known that Swedenborg rejected parts of the Bible, and so the Bible of the "Church of the New Jerusalem," commonly known as Swedenborgian, omits I and II Chronicles, Ruth, Esther, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and all of the New Testament except the four Gospels and Revelation.

THE TRUE WAY OF LIFE.—Edward Grubb has rewritten his little book with this title, noticed in the BULLETIN two or three years ago, and in its improved form it can again be recommended as a clear and forcible statement of the pacifist attitude.

ELIZABETH WALKER AT WASHINGTON, 1817.—In a brief memoir of this very interesting Friend—daughter of William and Mary Hoyland, of Sheffield, England—there is this statement: "In 1817 after attending Baltimore Yearly Meeting, she traveled through Virginia and North Carolina, having a meeting in the Capitol at Washington on her return." Can anyone furnish full particulars of this meeting?

M. G. S.

WILLIAM PENN AND "MARTYR" CHARLES.—Soon after the bronze statue of William Penn was placed upon the Philadelphia City Hall, it happened that a glass picture of King Charles I was displayed on the plate-glass window

of a neighboring art shop. Some wag, noticing this, wrote the following:

"Quoth William Penn to 'Martyr' Charles,

'You'll scarcely feel at home
Down there upon a window-
pane,

While I enjoy the dome.

Let me step down and out, I
pray,

And you be patron saint.'

Quoth 'Martyr' Charles to
William Penn,

'Tis best to let things be;

They're used to looking up at
you,

And they can see through
me.'"

MEMORIAL TABLET ON FIRBANK FELL.—In this day of erecting tablets, and celebrating two hundredth anniversaries, an interesting celebration of the kind in England should not be overlooked. No one who has visited the site of Firbank Chapel, four miles from Sedbergh, Yorkshire, and stood upon the rock standing upon which George Fox preached "about three hours" to a great gathering in 1652 (see *Journal*, Camb. Ed. I: 42-44), can doubt the propriety of commemorating that occasion. The following paragraph is taken from the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* (Vol. XII, No. 3, p. 154), "In connection with the General Meeting of Cumberland and Westmorland Friends, a Meeting

for Worship was held at 'George Fox's Pulpit' on Firbank Fell, on June 19 [1915], to commemorate the great gathering at which Fox spoke in 1652. A tablet bearing the following inscription was unveiled:

"LET YOUR LIVES SPEAK.

"Here or near this rock George Fox preached to above one thousand 'seekers' for three hours on Sunday, 13th June, 1652. Great power inspired his message, and the meeting proved of first importance in gathering the Society of Friends. From this fell many young men went forth through England with the living word in their hearts, enduring manifold hardships as 'children of the Light' and winning multitudes to the Truth."

An attractive print in colors ($7\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ in.) of "George Fox's Pulpit, from a water-color by J. Barlow Wood, was issued in 1913, and doubtless can still be procured from Arthur Simpson, Kendal, England, or through Headley Brothers, London, at about five shillings.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Since the last number of the BULLETIN, two numbers of the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* have appeared. They have, as usual, much of interest. Papers which may be noted in No. 2 are that on "Isabel (Fell) Yeamans," by Charlotte Fell Smith, and "Remi-

niscences of William Forster and Stephen Grellet," by Joshua L. Baily. In No. 3, the two articles on "John Bellers" give much information on a too-little known man. A pioneer in the work of modern education and social service, he deserves far more recognition than he has received.

NORMAN PENNEY.—It is welcome news that Norman Penney, the accomplished Librarian of Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, Editor of the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, of the Cambridge Edition of the *Journal of George Fox*, etc., who has been recruiting from his long and serious illness has returned home. We hope to hear shortly that he has resumed his work.

THE BI-CENTENNIAL OF WOODBURY MEETING, 1915.—It is cause for rejoicing that the custom of commemorating the establishment of Friends' meetings is becoming general. Such occasions are always socially interesting and profitable. But apart from the social, or even the religious interest, there is this additional good from such celebrations. There is sure to be an historical sketch, prepared with more or less care. This means a searching of records and a bringing together of fragmentary materials often existing in a perishable form. Sometimes it means

the penning of personal recollections which in a few years could not have been secured. All this is historical matter quite worthy of preservation. When published in book form, or even in local papers, it becomes a more permanent possession. Such occasions, too, afford excellent opportunities for the serious discussion of Friendly topics and thus contribute to the establishment of higher social and religious ideals.

The Bi-Centennial celebration of the establishment of Woodbury meeting, N. J., was a fair illustration. This occurred on the twenty-fifth of Ninth month, 1915. The meeting is now much reduced in numbers, but a goodly company were present on this occasion. Many of these had some connection by descent or otherwise with members of the meeting in earlier days. It became very evident that day that Woodbury had included in the past a virile stock, the branches of which had enriched many surrounding neighborhoods. Mention of such names as Wood, Cooper, Whitall, Stokes, Tatum, Mickle, Griscom, Lippincott, Lord, etc., brings up visions of sturdy generations of worthy Friends.

Woodbury meeting seems to have started about the year 1682, at the home of John Wood, at a point on Woodbury Creek, midway between the present town of Woodbury and the point where the creek empties into the

Delaware. The name Woodbury is derived from the family name Wood and Bury, in Lancashire, Eng., whence the family came to America.

About 1715 the community of Friends acquired land further up the creek, in the present limits of Woodbury, and built the house now in use. It was doubled in size in 1785, about which time the Friends assembling in it were

entrusted with the powers of a Monthly Meeting.

In 1794 "Gloucester and Salem Quarterly Meeting" was divided, and the new Salem Quarterly Meeting included Woodbury, Piles Grove, Salem and Greenwich Monthly Meetings, while the name Haddonfield came into use for the quarter including the group of Monthly Meetings farther north. W. W. D.

